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A Yearbook of the History of Music

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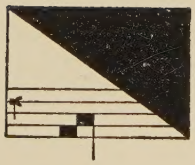

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TO CHARLES VAN DEN BORREN

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EDITORIAL

On Oddments as Reviews (again), One Review in Particular, on Humans (in General), on Editing and Editions (both in General and Particular), on Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, the American Institute of Musicology, etc. . . .

The editorial position of *Musica Disciplina* regarding reviews of specialized publications was fairly clearly set forth in *MD VI*. The reader who is aware of this editorial should not be surprised, therefore, to know that few are the reviews read by us, and that the particular review occasioning these lines may possibly not have engaged our attention had it not been brought to it by one of our representatives. The reader should also be informed that we do not seek reviews of the publications of the American Institute of Musicology (though this is not to say that we do not respect and appreciate some of them), and that in fact we do not send out all our publications even to the few periodicals interested in reviewing our works. If our publications are reviewed, it is simply because we have for the most part been requested to provide review copies.

It should at all events be admitted that reviewing editions of music — early or otherwise — and so far as concerns the music itself, is not much more than a futile undertaking; one may even go so far as to say that as a form of intellectual exercise it arouses almost a sense of pity. A review properly so called of a publication must, among other things, deal with ideas, just as much as it must itself have ideas. Musicians, musicologists and music essayists have had to borrow and beg from literature and art, to mention only these, for terms and concepts in the prose they write about music. So we sometimes meet with the term "musical idea", understood in its special sense by the specialized reader. But of course there are in truth no ideas properly so called in music, any more than there is "literature" in music, though "musical literature" too is by now a commonplace term. The writer remembers how surprised and amused a poet friend was in meeting such terms for the first time.

The reviewer trying to tell something, when it is a question of a modern edition of early music, is lucky if there are enough technical and editorial matters to discuss, and if he himself is capable of discussing them. More often the review falls into jejune telling of the contents of the book, giving an appreciation in capsule of the music, mostly from a subjective point of

view, at best perhaps giving a few lines about historical place and relations or about some technical features (which, if sound, are not to be disdained, but are of necessity sketchy and inconsequential), and saying some platitudes, some excesses, some trivialities, showing some niceties or banalities, then winding up either with the usual throw of a bouquet, often of doubtful flora out of doubtful hands, or hurling brick-bat, sometimes perhaps justified, (if violence and ill manners can ever be justified even in the case of a stupid publication), sometimes no more than betraying an unsuccessful dinner or perhaps a too successful one. The exercise with bouquet or brick-bat or bouquet-brick-bat, is not of course peculiar to music reviews. It is human behavior. Reviews can, alas, be singularly convenient vehicles for human passion and prejudice. A review will show critical acumen or lack of any sense of criticism, but it may at the same time turn out an inescapable mirror of the human in us. It may reflect much more than what we know or do not know. It will show what we think about the work reviewed, but it may also reflect what we want others think about it. A review may even go so far as exposing, insidiously, such private and personal belongings as what we wish had happened to the author in the last war or to his forebears at the last outbreak of the plague; or, on the other hand, may usefully bare our warm and germinating thoughts for the pleasure and well being of the ego. Again, cases have been known where a review has betrayed fury at the appearance on this planet of such rogues as Manusius, Gutenberg, Caxton and the rest of the lot, forgetting in its fury that without them its own noble charge of intolerance and envy would not be carried to the public. But that is not all. A review may become uncanny and at the same time outrageous and suddenly dangle at the nose of the reader, even before he is done with his reading, nothing less than a spleen or a liver or both, and these in a deplorable state of health at that. This, admittedly, goes beyond the limits of ordinary decency. A review, in short, is "décidément le diable". Man's salvation is not in it.

* * *

But we must turn from jest and humor to the particular review already alluded to. It appeared in the March, 1960 issue of *Notes* and had to do with the sixth and seventh volumes of the edition of Clemens non Papa in *CMM*. It was written by an enthusiastic and productive student of the 16th century.

The review itself must certainly be regarded as serious in intention — perhaps too serious, ending as it does in an as curious and surprising as unjustified pessimism. But it starts off exuberantly. Indeed, it has the great merit, so rare in reviews, of having what some historiographers have condemned as a fault: true enthusiasm for a given moment in history, here

represented by the material in review. It is dismal to read cold-blooded prose, bad or good, on what is after all art, especially when great and exciting art, just brought to light from the dust and darkness of archives during centuries. However, the reviewer goes beyond generous limits and expresses appreciation of the effort and devotion (which he must know are disinterested), that go into giving to the public of such things as collected works of Clemens non Papa. We cannot becomingly express agreement on this, but we can at least say that it is kind, and constructive — surely much more so than the case of another musicologist who a few years ago gave himself the insalubrious pleasure of publicly pronouncing such projects as editions in *CMM* as "pious" undertakings, doubtful of realization, and actually mentioning the edition of Clemens non Papa, as an example. Lucky for musicology and for culture that there are against such flabby prophets men of constructive enthusiasm, men of some vision and at any rate of robust enough faith in disinterested work on behalf of culture to whom such little darts fail to make themselves felt.

What we can objectively and unreservedly agree upon with our reviewer is his enthusiasm about a composer like Clemens non Papa within his general enthusiasm about the 16th century as a whole. He finds our composer's works full of "exuberance", "diversity", "daring" and "on the highest wave of (the century's) vitality". How right he too is in saying once more that the works of such men as Clemens non Papa, once sufficiently known, will clear such errors of music history as taking Palestrina as the representative of the 16th century. And how true that it is time our performances of early music graduated from the catchy, the little tasty morsels, from what the reviewer calls the "intimate, the witty and the dainty", to great and substantial works as Clemens non Papa's masses. The musical greatness of the century will remain hidden to us until we hear and come to know the century's larger compositions.

Unfortunately, the reviewer's happy prose comes to a sudden stop there. Typographical and possibly some editorial errors in the music have been found, and listed. Most, perhaps all, of them to be acknowledged, these errors are relatively small, produced by the engraver and missed in proof correction; they are self-evident, as proved by the fact that the reviewer collected them not by going to the sources but from "the context itself", as he tells us. His list has two errors from Volume VI, containing 142 pages of music in small engraving *, and twenty errors in volume VII,

* This is an occasion to point out that all but one of the editions of *CMM* have engraving with small tools, that is to say, are in small notes. In material terms this means that these pages contain from 25% to 50% more music as compared with the average page of the same format, usually engraved with large tools.

containing 157 pages of music. Five of these errors consist of the trivialities of missing ledger lines, bar numbers, figure of 8 below the G-clef (the last two not at all points proper to music itself). Two more errors in the list are of time value and self-correcting, missing the cross bar to make eighths out of two quarters. The rest are, according to the reviewer (and we are neither checking just now nor questioning them), errors in notes.

Obvious as they may be, to have been corrected from the context, and human as such things are, these errors are unfortunate, of course. An exacting review in such respects must be appreciated, no world-shaking a matter as it may be. The attention of the editor in question has been drawn to these errors, though undoubtedly he would anyhow be preparing a list of corrections and emendations. Anyone who has dealt with music proofs knows how difficult it is to catch all errors by the engraver. Editorial errors — if it is a question of error and not of editorial opinion ("opinion" advisedly, for in some matters in editing polyphony no more than that is possible without dogmatism) — no justification must be claimed. Fortunately in the present case the whole thing can easily be remedied by a list of corrections and emendations to be inserted in the volume and surely such insertions are no rare occurences.

Less easily remediable is the harm from the excess which the reviewer suddenly allows himself. Carried by his list of errors, he had already fallen upon the over-pessimistic formula for the opening of another paragraph: "The situation is worse when . . ." So a "bad" situation was established and now we are prepared for a "worse" one, if we understand the business of comparative adjectives correctly. The paragraph has to do with alleged or suspected uncertainty about dissonance. The reviewer finds "the situation is worse" when one cannot be sure whether a free dissonance or a misprint is in question. This is valid enough reasoning — on unestablished premises. But for the moment we must keep to comparison in adjectives. Surely the situation is not all that "worse" as may be construed by the casual reader. The reviewer has drawn up a list of nine cases out of two volumes on which he would like clarifications, and he should have the courtesy, at the least, of being given satisfaction. In the meantime it is well to say that not all find things as simple and as easily definable in matters like *musica ficta* as would have the reviewer, who refers to his discussion of it in a previous review of the same edition. The reviewer must permit others to question his own apparently unquestionable state of mind regarding *musica ficta* and related practices in the 16th century. It is of course very comfortable to have all problems settled by a set of rules applicable generally, or by conviction about some ingenious theories for interpretation. Unfortunately, things do not work out quite that way — certainly not in art, and even more certainly not in the art of an age of whose vitality and diversity the

reviewer himself is well aware; and still more certainly not in an art that we know but incompletely and imperfectly.

Complaint is made of the "plain and thorough inconsistency with which the editor offers exactly the same harmonic progression or even the same passage as they occur in repetitions, one time with, the other without *musica ficta*". We hope the editor will reply, directly or indirectly. He may have difficulty in justifying some cases. He, or anyone else, should have no difficulty in not submitting to demand for absolute consistency. (Oh, Emerson, where are you?) Are we in art or in pure science? We should have no difficulty in showing irrefutable evidence based on authentic sources that there was throughout the fifteenth-century and on into the sixteenth, no absolute consistency in many particulars of musical composition. If some such consistency came about, it was not yet in the music of Clemens non Papa which represents, in the words of the reviewer, "sixteenth-century style before its distillation and 'purification' ". Anyone who has intimate knowledge of Renaissance manuscripts — prints are no reliable documents, chiefly for overstandardization — is aware of the true state of things, or at least of how cautious we must be in our efforts to arrive at norms. Let it be said, unabashedly, that no one can claim greater devotion than the general editor (not "editor-in-chief" as found in the review) to serious approach to serious things, and particularly to *CMM* and to the various other series published by AIM. A very high standard in scholarly, artistic, material and aesthetic qualities is strived for. Perfection is not human, but an effort is made to fall as little short of it as to be managed. But we must guard against a merely scholarly treatment of artistic material. Unimaginative scholarship, even in purely historical disciplines, can be devastating; certainly so in art.

Music, especially of the pre-seventeenth century period, has indeed science to it. Our awareness of and interest in this should be evident in our efforts through *Corpus Scriptorum de Musica,* at least. But art in its final form is not science. The artist is not scientist. These are platitudes. Science will of necessity seek, and find, rules applicable in general. Art will of another kind of necessity seek, and find, freedom from the despotism of such rules whenever and wherever possible. That, obviously, is the very essence and even the definition of creativeness. In finding, restoring, assembling our material (transcription of polyphony involves all these, and more) we must bear in mind this strife of creativeness against science at least as much as the exigencies of science on the art. Even such incidental (accidental) things as *musica ficta* cannot be reduced to set and established rules. How many musicologists wish this were not so, yet wisely do not let themselves sink into a false and hazardous comfort!

The great masses of Clemens non Papa, occasioning this discussion, were done for the glory of God and the edification of man; also for man's

pleasure, in a broad sense, as composer and as auditor. We may nobly, interestingly, usefully and enjoyably look for the science and for the craftsmanship in them — and our modern editions must indeed make this as possible as the nature of the material will permit; but how dreadfully wrong we should be if we saw not much more in this music than matter for the classroom or for the scholar's study! It is time we freed ourselves of the blinders of the philological horse. It is not the "critical apparatus" of these editions that matter above all but the music itself. The reviewer himself has urged the artistic use of the material in question.

Modern editions of early music must contribute to the problem of drawing what rules, what science may be drawn from art, which itself defies definition or even description of its creative aspect, making foolishness out of so much art criticism. There are so many things we do not know about music of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. It would be easy to play with bright (or not so bright) ideas, to be breezy or sultry in offering solutions of problems, if one permitted himself the sport. Better it is to be imaginative, even daring, to use intuition out of a disciplined mind and to experiment — but always tentatively and undogmatically. If certainty and uniformity are not safely achieved, better "wavering" and variety in readings, of even *seemingly* identical situation, than dead or misleading certainty. Better also to defer "critical apparatus", in which one wants to be as definitive in scientific matters as possible than to rush conclusions or produce inadequacies.

It is at all events commendable that a reviewer will take the time and pains for going into details of the kind shown in the review, thereby also saving himself from writing insipid aestheticism, since there would be little else to say so far as the musc proper is concerned. But right perspective must not be abandoned. We regret the peroration of the review. This is the "excess" mentioned above. Even here, it is not for all that it says that we regret it, though there is one satement which we more than regret and to which we shall turn presently, but for what it provides others to think (therefore what it provides to be said, remembering that with so many thinking is talking). For men of good will and good interest in our work this peroration has consternation. For those who are constitutionally negative to any idealistic scheme or resentful of any initiative out of the ordinary — history at any level and of any time amply provides examples, musicology being no exception — the last paragraph of the review provides coin for their "slot machines" of petulance, gossip and ill will.

The reviewer writes: "Finally, we come to an observation that concerns the whole series, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae,* issued by the American Institute of Musicology. If it is impossible to trust the reliability of the readings offered, the integrity of the whole magnificant series begins to be

questioned". Is this not going too far? Has he so firmly established the unreliability of the Clemens non Papa edition itself to justify a statement of the kind, even if less injudiciously, he had confined it to that edition alone? Even if that edition were to be admitted as unreliable under a philological microscope, would that make trash of all that fine material, worthily produced, as music for study and performance? And at any rate would that justify a drastic pronouncement pulling in *CMM* with by now some two dozen *opera omnia* in progress and many others in preparation? Is a series like *CMM* an organic, indivisible whole? How will the editors of over twenty other editions, among whom so many well known names of the older and younger generations, take the reviewer's verdict? The sentence following the one quoted above shows that the dissatisfaction is from a specialized, technical point of view, mention having been made of "the scholar interested in the study of dissonance". This is at once a justifiable, a mitigating and a depressing statement. Anyhow, be it known that if it was made irrefutably clear that the series *CMM* was destined to no more than use for the "scholar interested in the study of dissonance" or any colleague of his with interest in like matters — valid as these are in so far as they go — we would burn the remaining stock of *CMM* and give ourselves a good holiday, then settle down to meditation on the foolishness or short-sightedness, if not blindness, of man. The reader who will seize upon what we have just said to accuse us of lack of appreciation of musical scholarship and of musicological problems and of technical treatment is invited to consider the series *CSM,* go through the fourteen volumes of *Musica Disciplina,* to look at the list of works in preparation for the lately revived *Musicological Studies and Documents,* as well as at the books already issued in the series, and to come to consult our file on rejected manuscripts.

The reviewer goes on to ask whether it is "not time to reconsider the original policy to withhold the critical apparatus until the whole edition of the works of a master is completed". We have already said something about this in passing, and something also by implication. It is better to defer critical notes than defer the appearance of the music. Whoever does not agree with this is beyond reasoning from the standpoint of he who has ardent interest in the study and enjoyment of the art in question. However, we are again facing a statement too sweeping. The reasonable question just quoted is in a sense a little comforting. Checking with our subscription department we have learned that the reviewer is a subscriber to practically all the editions of *CMM* (a good example to be followed by a number of other musicologists!); but apparently he was not quite aware of the state of things with all the rest of the series. This indirectly mitigates his sweeping

statement also about the integrity of the series. At least half of the twenty-four titles in *CMM* now in progress or completed have their critical notes with them. Let it be noted that in most cases, in all editions of the kind "critical notes" mean mostly variant readings, and that their absence certainly does not suspend fruitful use of the edition; it only delays a very specialized academic use, if even here, involving technical minutia. Several others of the editions in *CMM,* though without these variants, carry other more important and more interesting material, as for example full poetical texts of 14th and 15th century pieces, or tables of sources and the kind.

It is true that, as the reviewer says, it had been hoped to expedite publication by deferring variants, but the temporal factor was by no means the only or the chief reason for the deferment. Still, even on this score, we are far from regretting the course taken, knowing that in some cases the volumes that have been available for years would probably be either on the editor's desk still or at the print shop. We have had to wait as long as a year, even two years, for a mere foreword, when the music has been engraved and ready all that time. We are just now awaiting another foreword for half a year. There are other considerations. It was believed that in some cases — Clemens non Papa is one of them — editions would benefit by not too hasty a preparation of the notes. Vast material as Clemens non Papa's is not exhaustively assembled in a few months or even a few years. An exhaustive collection of the material is indispensable for the notes; not so for a safe and definitive text of the music. By the way, the reviewer mentions that with the seventh volume of the edition all the masses of Clemens non Papa are before us, "except for a few Mass fragments". Volume VIII, which came out early in 1960, contains, besides some mass sections, a complete Requiem mass. The long missing two voices of the Requiem were recently found in Ireland, and the editor was happy to replace his own reconstruction (for the sake of performance) with the authentic parts. Had we brought out this volume earlier, and had we included critical notes, the situation would have been somewhat embarrassing. All this is not to insist on the absolute virtue of deferred critical notes, but to present another side of the question. We moreover suggest that a fruitful "scholarly use" of any master must have his entire works accessible, by which time in our case we propose to have the notes available where they have been held back.

The reviewer suggests a "stricter general editorial supervision". There is never an end to improvement in human endeavor, and no reasonable man will take such a suggestion ill. But the impression imparted to the reader, not well acquainted with the situation, that the general editor has been slackening in his job must be dispelled. There is no need to tell of the time and labor *CMM* alone casts the general editor personally, not to speak of

his staff. Only one thing should be pointed out: these editions are entrusted to specialists for the task at least as good as any others. They must act as intermediaries and as interpreters of the music they give us. Considerable preliminaries, depending on the case, take place between general editor and editor before the start of work. In some cases an entire volume has been retranscribed, even twice, at the request of the general editor. But in the long run and in the last analysis it is the editor who must be trusted and who must be responsible for the work. Supervision, yes; but it would be absurd to mean or to expect by supervision the control of every note and every detail in the transcription, then the proof-reading once, twice, thrice and four times occasionally, by the general editor of every one of the volumes in a series like *CMM,* though he has by no means been unknown to have practiced just such "supervision" in a number of cases. There are, moreover, numerous questions and problems in each edition, involving original sources, specialization within specialization, technical matters, and above all penetration and insight only possible by a personal experience with the entire material during years. Any musicologist, any scholar in any field, will easily see that. It is not at all a question of a "change of policy", implying that there has been a policy of taking it gently or of *laissez-faire;* it is, in the case of the Clemens non Papa edition, a matter of urging better proof reading, above all, and perhaps more editorial attention to some details.

The really objectionable thing in the review is its closing -- an excess within the excess of the last paragraph. Why on earth did the reviewer write it? "It is our considered view" he says, "that the American Institute of Musicology has come to a critical point in its history. We hope and trust that the man who had the vision to found it and to create this great series will have the wisdom and fortitude to safeguard its integrity". Of wisdom and fortitude no mortal can have too much. The "man who had the vision to found" the Institute has also a keen awareness of need for more wisdom in every pass of life. He has also interest in the worthy and useful continuation of his work. He would also wish that this work, kindly recognized by the reviewer to have been created out of a vision, and, we add, for no gain, not even of recognition or praise, be spared, on the other hand, from undue misunderstanding or molestation, no matter how unintentional. Hence the wisdom, we hope, of these lines, whether or not with wisdom.

Anyhow, we lack wisdom for understanding the logic of the above statement. Do a few mostly typographical errors and even perhaps editorial inadequacies in a few volumes condemn a whole series of dozens of editions, comprising hundreds of volumes? Do they, moreover, put into a "crisis" an organization that undertakes yet four more series, with numerous volumes and sets in progress and in project (among the latter two books for the

series *MSD* by the reviewer himself) to speak only of publications and not of other activities hidden to the reader, as helping and subsidizing private research, being instrumental in the obtaining of grants for research, collecting source material, etc., (nor yet of such things in the past as summer sessions of advanced studies and scholarships granted to participants of whom some unknown then are now well-known figures in musicology)?

From our part, though constantly aware of the need and constantly in search of improvements, we can serenely assure the reader that, as human affairs of the kind go, never has this Institute been in better health. Even financially, for the first time some editions are beginning to stand on their own legs, releasing subsidy to be applied to new and greater projects. The first months of 1960 have seen about a dozen new issues in the several series, but mostly in *CMM*. The rest of the year promises a good harvest. We have at the same time started work on some very considerable new projects of which more in due time.

On our fifteenth anniversary we welcome advice and suggestions for improvement in our work, and we invite the collaboration in our several series of scholars whose work is compatible with ours. They are specially invited to submit works for the series *Musicological Studies and Documents* which is in the process of reactivation. Encouraged by steadily increasing response from musicology and by so many kind expressions in appreciation of our work, we are intent on forging ahead. The review in question here is itself not without a message and a meaning of encouragement.

A. C.

NOTATIONAL LICENCES OF GUILLAUME DE MACHAUT

RICHARD H. HOPPIN

In his recent edition of Machaut's complete musical works, Leo Schrade remarked that "the musical notation in general does not present any difficulty" [1]. Although, "in general", one must agree with this statement, certain details of the notation do present difficulties nevertheless. Since neither Schrade nor Ludwig, in their editions of Machaut's music [2], has dealt with these difficulties with complete consistency, it seems worthwhile to discuss them here. It should be noted at the outset that our concern is not with minor flaws or random errors in either edition but is directed, rather, to notational procedures that may be or have been interpreted in different ways. If justification of this concern is needed, it may be found in the fact that a strict interpretation according to the rules propounded in contemporary treatises will alter — in some cases quite materially — transcriptions that have hitherto been accepted as correct.

At least part of the present confusion may be blamed on the tradition that Machaut took liberties with the normal notational practices of his time, a tradition that apparently originated with Machaut's contemporary Johannes de Muris. At any rate, the *Libellus cantus mensurabilis secundum Johannem de Muris* notes that certain *cantores,* namely Gulielmus de Mascandio and several others, imperfect a perfect breve in minor prolation by a single minim and an imperfect breve in major prolation by two minims together, either preceding or following. These procedures are explained, according to the *Libellus,* by assuming a change of quality (i.e., mensuration), with the breve being understood to be in the mensuration that would permit such imperfection [3].

Several points in this passage call for comment, first of all the pro-

[1] *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century,* II & III and separate *Commentary Notes,* p. 14. (Monaco: Editions de l'Oiseau Lyre, 1956).

[2] F. Ludwig, *Guillaume de Machaut Musikalische Werke* (Leipzig, 1954). Vols. I-III originally appeared in *Publikationen älterer Musik ... der deutschen Musikgesellschaft,* 1926-29. Vol. IV, edited by H. Besseler from Ludwig's papers, first appeared in 1943. The whole was reprinted in 1954.

[3] Coussemaker, *Scriptores,* III, 50a. Et nota quod quidam cantores, scilicet Gulielmus de Mascandio et nonnulli alii imperficiunt brevem perfectam minoris prolationis ab una sola minima. Et brevem imperfectam maioris prolationis a duabus minimis simul sequentibus vel precedentibus, ...

Et dicunt illi ibi mutari qualitatem. Capiunt enim ibi brevem perfectam minoris prolationis ac si esset brevis imperfecta maioris prolationis, et e contrario brevem imperfectam maioris prolationis ac si esset brevis perfecta minoris prolationis.

cedures themselves. In perfect tempus with minor prolation (○ = 3/4), the rhythmic figure can be obtained in no other way than by imperfecting the breve by a single minim. On the other hand, in imperfect tempus with major prolation (𝄡 = 6/8), the rhythmic patterns and could be obtained by means of red notes. But red notes were little used in Machaut's time, especially in the upper parts, and the notation of these patterns in black notes is obviously simpler and usually no less clear. Moreover, as the *Libellus* has just explained, a breve in this mensuration may be imperfected by two minims, one before and one after ( ). [4] Objections to placing both minims together would seem to be more theoretical than practical. Thus, both procedures prove to be useful or even necessary extensions of the normal rules of imperfection [5]. It is also important to note that neither the invention nor the exclusive use of these procedures is attributed to Machaut. In fact they are to be found, if rarely, in most musical sources of the late 14th and early 15th centuries [6]. Finally, it seems to me that the tone of Johannes de Muris in discussing these procedures is more reportorial than censorious.

It is later that disapproval sets in. Ugolino, in his commentary on Johannes de Muris, speaks of errors committed by Machaut, and Gafurius qualifies these errors as absurd [7]. Brought to light by La Fage in the 19th century, these opinions had little influence until Johannes Wolf gave them wider currency in his epoch-making works on the history of mensural notation [8]. Although he discussed them carefully, Wolf was not really concerned with the specific practices cited by Johannes de Muris. After all, they present no real problem to the modern transcriber. What did interest Wolf was the practical application he could make of two inferences drawn from the specific citation of Machaut. The first and more pernicious inference is that Machaut in general allowed himself "licences" in his notational practice. The second inference has more foundation. Guided by De Muris' explanation of the licences, Wolf assumed that Machaut changed mensurations at will without giving any indication in the notation. It is the effect of these inferences, not only on Wolf's own transcriptions, but also on those of his successors, that is the chief object of investigation here.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 49b.

[5] Willi Apel, in *The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900-1600* (Cambridge, Mass., 1944), p. 345, also comments on the practical character of Machaut's innovations.

[6] Both procedures, but especially the second, occur with some frequency in the early 15th-century Cypriot Ms, Tu B (Turin, Bibl. Naz., J. II. 9.). Cf. my forthcoming edition in *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, e.g., in Motets 12 and 16.

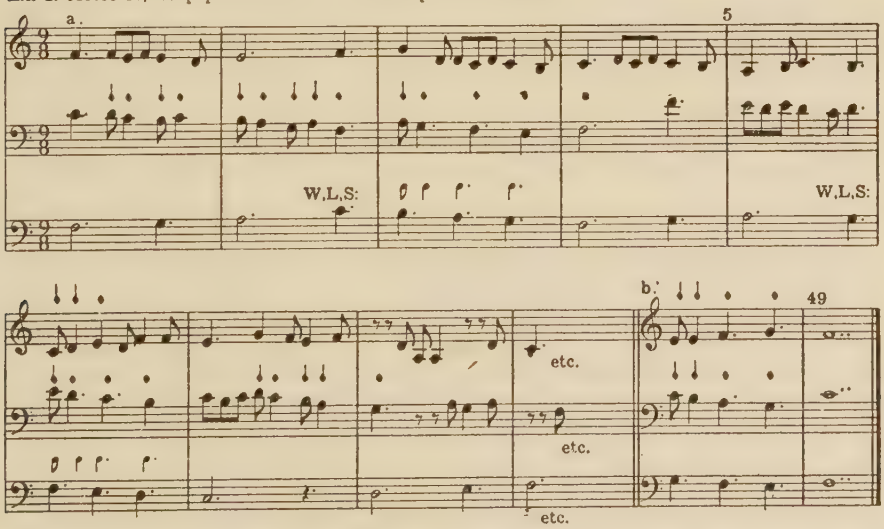
[7] Cf. Adrien de La Fage, *Essais de diphthérographie musicale* . . ., (Paris, 1864), p. 162.

[8] J. Wolf, *Geschichte der Mensuralnotation von 1250-1460* (Leipzig, 1904), I, 170-171; and *Handbuch der Notationskunde* (Leipzig, 1913), I, 342.

The first and most important problem to be considered involves the principles of imperfection. What were Machaut's intentions when he wrote a minim followed by a series of semibreves in major prolation? In discussing the theory of 14th-century notation, Wolf repeatedly invokes the most basic of all rules governing imperfection: No note may be imperfected before another note of the same value [9]. He even gives an example of a minim followed by six semibreves, the last of which is to be imperfected [10]. When he deals specifically with the notation of Machaut, however, Wolf violates this rule without comment. As his first example that a rest may produce imperfection, Wolf cites a passage from the tenor of Ballade 28, *Je puis trop bien*. After a long, a minim rest is followed by two semibreves and a breve in a *cop* ligature, and Wolf imperfects the first semibreve. At the end of this series of examples his only comment is: "Im übrigen werden alle Regeln der Imperfektion befolgt" [11].

In his next work on notation, Wolf included a facsimile of Motet 20, with a transcription of the first 17 bars [12]. Here he makes the following curious remarks: "Die Lehre von der Synkopation begegnet [sich?] mehrfach. Von Unregelmässigkeiten, an denen übrigens Machaut's Werke reich sind, ist die Imperfektion einer semibrevis vor einer anderen semibrevis besonders zu vermerken". If the second sentence be true, there is no syncopation. Even more puzzling is Wolf's assumption that this second sentence is true. Let us look more closely at Motet 20, whose first eight bars are given in Ex. 1a.

Ex. 1. Motet 20, Trop plus est belle — Biaute paree de valour.



[9] *Geschichte*, I, 126. Cf. Coussemaker, *Scriptores*, III, 49b. Nulla nota potest imperfici ante sibi similem.

[10] *Geschichte*, I, 128. [11] *Ibid.*, pp. 172-173. [12] *Handbuch*, I, 360 f.

Bars 3 and 6 of the duplum contain a characteristic rhythmic pattern that appears six more times in the motet: in bars 15, 22 and 32 of the duplum, and bars 10, 27 and 44 of the triplum. Without exception, Wolf, Ludwig, and Schrade transcribe these bars according to the rhythm shown between the staves in Ex. 1a [13]. Yet if Machaut had wanted this rhythm, he could easily have written two minims and two semibreves, as in fact he did in the penultimate bar of the motet (Ex: 1b). Moreover, the rhythm ♪♩ ♩. is correctly notated as two minims followed by a semibreve on at least a dozen other occasions in this same motet, three instances being found in Ex. 1a (bars 2, 6 and 7). Despite the usual number of variants and errors in the different sources, the five manuscripts containing Motet 20 are in complete agreement as to the notation of the eight bars with this characteristic rhythm. To assume that, in the same piece, Machaut used the correct notation some 15 times and an incorrect notation 8 times is to imply far more than mere licence or irregularity. The conclusion seems inescapable that Machaut knew what he was doing when he wrote these eight passages and that they should be interpreted according to the notational rules of his time. Why Wolf, after so carefully explaining these rules, should have failed to follow them is a mystery.

Unfortunately, later transcribers seem to have followed Wolf's lead in this matter almost without question [14]. Neither Ludwig nor Schrade comments on this notational peculiarity of Motet 20, and there are many other pieces of Machaut in which the same device is to be found. On one occasion, in his notes to Ballade 26, Ludwig did "leave open" the question of whether syncopation was intended. Curiously, this is one of the rare instances when Schrade imperfects the second rather than the first of two semibreves preceded by a minim rest [15]. In the two Ballades immediately following, however, Schrade returns to his normal practice of imperfecting the first semibreve of the series [16]. In Ballade 41 (cantus, bar 4), both Ludwig and Schrade introduce syncopation, but, as their notes reveal, for

[13] Wolf's incomplete transcription contains the pattern 4 times.

[14] The practice is by no means confined to the Machaut editions of Ludwig and Schrade, but has been applied to later sources as well. I may cite R. Ficker's transcription of a motet, *Maria, mare gratie — O Maria, celi porta,* from Tu B. (Cf. *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* XL (76), 12-13; duplum, bars 32, 77, and 130.) Proof that the composers of Tu B intended syncopation in such passages is found in the frequent insertion of a single red note in the series of semibreves. The red semibreve stops the syncopation that would otherwise have continued throughout the whole series.

[15] Ballade 26; Contratenor, bars 11 and 24.

[16] Ballade 27; Tenor, bars 25, 30, 55 and 58; Contratenor, bars 3 and 47.
Ballade 28; Tenor, bar 25; Contratenor, bars 7, 10, 17, 27 and 33.
Willi Apel's transcription of Ballade 28 follows Wolf and Ludwig in ignoring

somewhat confused reasons [17]. Only in Volume IV, perhaps as the result of Besseler's work, does Ludwig's edition introduce the syncopation that the notation obviously seems to have intended. In Lai 12, for example, the isorhythmic Strophe 10 twice has a pattern which Ludwig transcribed as 𝅗𝅥.𝅗𝅥.𝅗𝅥.𝅗𝅥.𝅗𝅥.𝅗𝅥.𝅗𝅥.𝅗𝅥., while Schrade continued to imperfect the first semibreve, 𝅗𝅥.𝅗𝅥.𝅗𝅥.𝅗𝅥. etc., (bars 497-99 and 515-17). Since this strophe is also a three-voice canon, the discrepant transcriptions differ considerably in rhythmic effect. In the following strophe, also a three-voice canon, Ludwig has on four occasions the rhythm 𝅗𝅥.𝅗𝅥.𝅗𝅥 where Schrade has 𝅗𝅥.𝅗𝅥.𝅗𝅥. (leading voice, bars 541, 550, 559 and 568) [18].

Without checking the entire repertory in the original manuscripts it is impossible to tell how frequently Machaut's notation has been thus distorted. Irregular imperfection of this sort is almost never noted by either Ludwig or Schrade, and it is recognizable in transcriptions only when the semibreves were written in ligatures that have been indicated by the editor. Schrade makes the comment, but not until he reaches Ballade 33, that in view of the major prolation the minim is frequently altered and that altered minims are not indicated [19]. Obviously, where the rules of alteration are correctly applied, no comment is necessary. What should have been noted are all passages such as we have been considering in which the normal rules of perfection are violated.

the implications of Machaut's notation. Cf. *Historical Anthology of Music* (Cambridge, Mass., 1947) I, 48 (No. 45). Because of the arrangement of his *Notation of Polyphonic Music,* Apel does not discuss imperfection and alteration in connection with Machaut. Earlier, however, and a propos of the rule *similis ante similem perfecta,* Apel does say, "This writer has never encountered an exception to this rule". *Notation,* p. 108.

[17] Schrade's No. 41 is Ludwig's No. 4 of the *Remede de Fortune,* I, 98-99. Ludwig says only one Ms. has a *punctus sincopationis* after the minim rest. But a punctus after the rest would not produce syncopation unless there were another punctus before the rest, in which case the second punctus would be superfluous. Schrade says the scribes may have taken the punctus to mean perfection and to apply to the preceding bar. If it is the only punctus it could mean nothing else. Schrade also says that the first note of bar 4 is either a semibrevis or an altered minim, but an altered minim could not produce the dotted quarter note of his transcription.

[18] Lai 12 in Schrade is Lai 17 in Ludwig. The bar-numbers are those of Schrade's edition. Their correspondence with Ludwig's edition is shown below:

Schrade	Ludwig
497—99	249—50
515—17	258—59
541	271
550	275
559	280
568	284

[19] Schrade, *Notes,* p. 117.

Another notational licence that has been attributed to Machaut by his modern editors is the irregular application of alteration to a note that is followed by another note of the same value. From Philippe de Vitry on, the 14th-century theorists are categorical in their statements that alteration could be applied only to a note that is followed by a note of the next higher value [20]. Only Johannes Verulus de Anagnia notes that certain authors — he does not name Machaut — held fast to the idea that a note could be altered before a punctus; and this practice he reprehends because there is a more precise and correct way of notating the same mensural values [21]. Precisely here, of course, lies the objection to attributing this practice to Machaut, who did observe the normal rules of alteration and imperfection in the vast majority of cases. To assume occasional and momentary lapses into an outmoded and, for his time, incorrect notational procedure is to do a disservice to Machaut's reputation. To invoke this licence in difficult passages or in passages that are obviously corrupt is even worse. It would be much better, if no other solution presents itself, to acknowledge the corrupt version and to suggest a possible correction.

Some characteristic examples of the discovery of this licence in the works of Machaut may be cited here. In Lai 17, bar 98, Schrade alters the second of a series of five minims, despite the fact that the same rhythm, ♪𝅗𝅥„ is correctly noted as minim-semibreve twice in both the preceding and following bars. That this solution was forced on Schrade by his misreading of the entire phrase may be seen by comparing his version with Ludwig's, in which alteration is correctly applied to the final minim of the series [22].

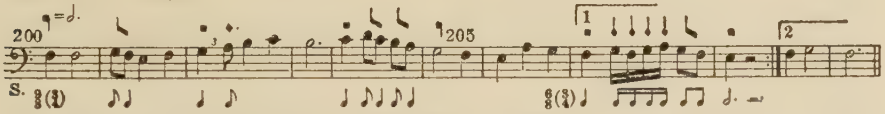
Another example occurs in Strophe 11 of Lai 18. The eleven bars of this strophe are written almost entirely in *modus perfectus,* with *tempus* being suggested or used in only four bars (Ex. 2). Bar 201 is neutral, and bar 202 suggests *tempus perfectum.* Bars 204 and 207, however, clearly require *tempus imperfectum.* In order to maintain *tempus perfectum* throughout, Schrade must alter the 2nd and 4th semibreves in bar 204, neither of which should be altered according to the rules, since the 2nd is followed by another semibreve and the 4th is followed not by a breve but by a long. In addition, he must regard bar 207 as "an anomaly", with a confusing change of signature from "9/8 (3/4)" to "6/8 (3/4)". Actually, it would seem that bar 202 is the anomaly and that the strophe should be transcribed in *tempus imperfectum* as Ludwig has done (Ex. 2).

[20] Cf. Wolf, *Geschichte,* I, 121 and the references there cited.

[21] Coussemaker, *Scriptores,* III, 156.

[22] The Lai is No. 23 in Ludwig's edition (bar 54). See also my transcription in „An Unrecognized Polyphonic Lai of Machaut", *Musica Disciplina* XII (1958), 97 (bars 52a-56a).

Ex. 2. Lai 18, Strophe 11.*



* Schrade's signatures and variants are shown below the staff.

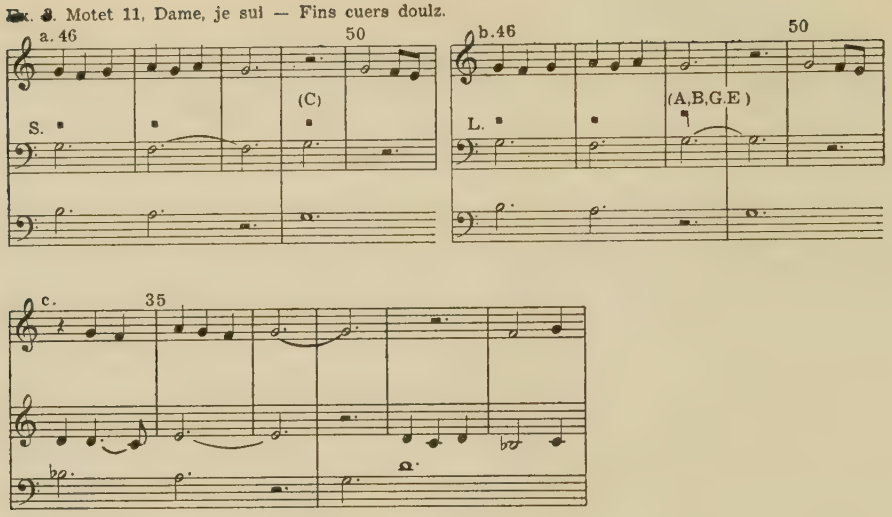
It is true that there are certain archaic features in the notation of Machaut's Lais: the frequent writing in *modus* rather than *tempus,* and the occasional alternation between triple and duple subdivisions of the breve [23]. On the other hand, the principles of alteration and imperfection are so frequently and correctly applied, even in the Lais, that occasional reversions to pre-Ars Nova practices must seem suspect. Even more suspect are such reversions in polyphonic compositions. In bars 46-48 of Motet 11, for example, the duplum has three notes, breve-breve-long, in all sources but one (C), which has three breves. Schrade accepts this deviationist reading and then alters the middle breve (Ex. 3a). He does note that "such an interpretation requires actually a p[unctus] d[ivisionis] before the last G" [24], but he does not note that even this would be abnormal procedure for Machaut [25]. Schrade's reading also produces untenable harmonic results in bar 48. Ludwig correctly remarks that the 2nd breve is not altered, even though followed by a long, and he transcribes the passage without emendation (Ex. 3b). There seems to be no reason for Schrade's version except that, as he says, it makes the breve G in bar 49 begin a new perfection. Whether the mensural divisions of the tenor are or must be reflected in the upper voices is a problem that will be touched on briefly later. One has only to look at bars 35-38 of this same motet, however, to see that triple units in the voice parts need not coincide with each other or with the tenor (Ex. 3c).

[23] E.g., in Lai 8.

[24] Schrade, *Notes,* p. 82.

[25] On the contrary, Schrade's notes often seem to imply that he regards alteration of a note before another of the same value as perfectly normal notational procedure in Machaut. See, for example, his suggestions for reading corrupt versions of Ballade 6, bar 10, and Ballade 21, bars 32-33.

Ex. 3. Motet 11, Dame, je sui — Fins cuers doulz.



We may now consider Wolf's second inference concerning Machaut's notation: that he changed mensurations without giving the performer any indication or without using any mensural signs. As all transcribers of Machaut's music know, this inference turned out to be true, at least in part. In fact, Wolf probably stressed it because he had learned from practical experience that numerous passages in Machaut's works can be explained and transcribed only by assuming a change of mensuration. It should be emphasized, however, that Machaut, although he did not use mensural signs, almost invariably provided some hint that a change of mensuration was taking place. Even the relatively unimportant changes of tempus illustrated in Ex. 2 create no problems to a performer who takes each case separately and reads it in the mensuration suggested by the note values themselves.

In one instance, however, Machaut's practices created problems that have yet to receive a satisfactory solution: in the puzzling rondeau *Rose, liz, printemps* (No. 10). For us, the particular interest of this piece lies in its combination of mensural changes with the assumed licences of imperfection and alteration. An added complication arises from the fact that some passages seem to have puzzled the original scribes as much as they have puzzled modern transcribers. Let us see what the problems are and how they have hitherto been solved.

The tenor and contratenor of Rondeau 10 are clearly in *tempus perfectum* with minor prolation. They follow normal notational procedures and present no difficulties whatsoever. The duplum (with text) is also in *tempus perfectum,* but in two passages the mensuration changes to *tempus imperfectum* with major prolation; i.e., in bars 13-17 and 27-29. Both

times the characteristic pattern ♩ 𝅗𝅥 indicates the new mensuration. Actually, all the notes in these passages have the same values that they would have had in the original mensuration except for one semibreve in bar 27 that must be perfect and has a punctus only in Ms C. Thus there is really no question as to the correct transcription of the duplum.

The untexted triplum, however, is quite another matter. In his extended critique of Wolf's *Geschichte der Mensuralnotation,* Ludwig left open the difficult question of the transcription of this rondeau [26]. However his own transcription, although it differs in some details, shows no fundamental disagreement with Wolf's principles of transcription. Schrade's version differs not at all from Ludwig's [27]. Wolf transcribed the triplum in 6/2 (𝄡), changing to 3/1 (○) in several places. Ludwig and Schrade seem to have assumed that the triplum was in the same mensuration (○) as the other voices, with a few bars in *tempus imperfectum* with major prolation. I would agree with Wolf that it is basically in the latter mensuration (𝄡), but I would suggest that it changes to ○ at precisely the same passages in which the duplum changes to 𝄡 ; i.e., in bars 12-17 and 26-30. (See Ex. 4). Major prolation is not only suggested by the rhythmic pattern of the first bar, but must be invoked in bars 1, 4, 7, 22 etc., to produce the perfect semibreves. Once this assumption is made, the triplum may be transcribed without difficulty except for bars 12-13. To judge from the number of variants (shown in Ex. 4), it would seem that this passage also puzzled the original scribes. Bar 12 was probably intended to match bar 26, but the minim rest in bar 13 then becomes an anomaly that can only be accounted for by assuming a momentary return to 𝄡 mensuration. Perhaps this is displacement syncopation as suggested by the version of Ms G [28]. Then the punctus between the first two minims is not unnecessary, as Ludwig says, but serves to prevent alteration of the second minim. If Machaut's intentions in these two bars have been forever obscured by scribal inaccuracies, the same cannot be said of the rest of the triplum. The only other significant variant occurs in bar 8, where the minim rest

[26] *Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft* VI (1904-1905), 621.

[27] Wolf, *Geschichte,* II, 38 and III, 61 (No. 20). Copy of original notation (G) and transcription.
Ludwig, I, 60.
Schrade, III, 152.

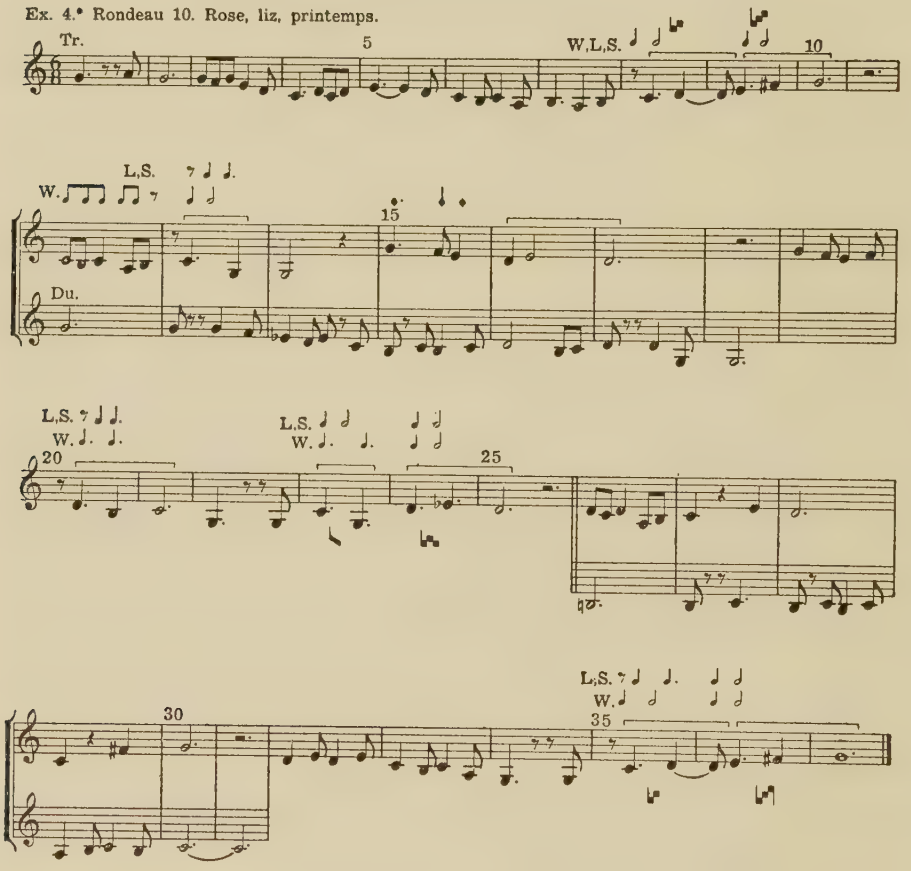
Machaut Sources: A. Paris, B.N., f. fr., 1584.
B. *Ibid.*, 1585.
C. *Ibid.*, 1586.
E. *Ibid.*, 9221.
G. *Ibid.*, 22546.

[28] In later sources, the rhythm ♫♩ ♫ is often produced in 𝄡 by the introduction of points of syncopation.

is present only in Mss A and G. However, the parallel between bars 8-10 and 35-37 is so striking that the two passages must have been meant to be identical. Wolf got out of this difficulty by assuming that the rests in bars 8, 20 and 35 were not rests because they did not make sense! Ludwig and Schrade omitted the rest in bar 8 but included the others.

As may be seen in Ex. 4, previous transcriptions of Rondeau 10 have attributed to Machaut both of the licences that — as this article has tried to show — he did not commit: imperfection and alteration of a note before

Ex. 4.* Rondeau 10. Rose, liz, printemps.



Mss Variants of Bars 12-13:

A.

B. (stem of last M very faint. Might be Sb.)

C. Triplum missing.

G.

E.

* Variants in the transcriptions of Wolf, Ludwig, and Schrade are indicated above the staves, preceded by the initials W,L, and S.

another note of the same value [29]. In addition, they have assumed willful and unindicated mensural changes, even to the extent of interpreting two successive *cop* ligatures in different mensurations. If Machaut really intended this, he was clearly pushing licence to the point of anarchy.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that Machaut's verifiable changes of mensuration do present certain problems for the modern transcriber: problems not so much of correct note values as of presentation in modern score in a way that does not distort or obscure the rhythmic organization. Essentially, these problems are a matter of barring, one of the most controversial and, in itself, one of the most distorting aspects of modern transcriptions. If the matter is considered here, it is not in the expectation of reaching definitive solutions, but rather in the belief that the problems need continually to be pondered and discussed by those engaged in the transcription and publication of medieval music.

The most common difficulty arises from the attempt to bar a composition according to *modus*. In this respect, Schrade's edition represents a great advance over Ludwig. By barring most of the secular songs according to *tempus*, Schrade eliminated many of the changes of measure that were the inevitable result of Ludwig's arbitrary grouping of the bars into units of *modus* [30]. That even Schrade did not eliminate all the changes is a measure of the difficulty involved. In most cases, these changes occur in *tempus imperfectum* with minor prolation and seem to result from a reluctance to transcribe in 2/4, especially when a number of longs are present. But the irregular placement of the longs, necessitating the alternation of bars of 3/2 and 2/2, seems to prove that here too Machaut was not really thinking in terms of a consistent *modus*. He simply used longs where he wanted the sustained notes, and any attempt to bar according to *modus* must inevitably give a false impression of the original.

Some characteristic examples of the alternation of 3/2 and 2/2 bars in Schrade's edition may be considered briefly here. In Ballade 25, imperfect longs occur in succession in bars 19-20 (but barred in 3/2), so that the basic *modus* must be imperfect. Perfect (dotted) longs do occur at the ends of phrases but not at the ends of sections, although Schrade transcribes these longs too as if they were dotted. Similarly, in Ballade 35, the longs at the ends of sections are not dotted and there is no reason to assume that they are perfect. Rondeau 17 is slightly more complicated. Again two longs in succession are imperfect (tenor: bars 19-20), but many passages suggest 3/2 and are so barred by Schrade. In bars 14-16, however, 2/2 is used,

[29] That Ludwig also accepted such alteration as normal in Machaut is shown by his note that the puncti needed to produce alteration are missing in bars 8-9 and 24-25 of Rondeau 10.

[30] Cf. the discussion of this problem in Schrade, *Notes*, pp. 13-14.

despite the tenor notation and pattern, , which reproduces in its first measure the pattern of bars 1, 5 and 24. In this case, Schrade seems to have barred at least in part, according to musical sense rather than according to mode. This is, of course, a legitimate and defensible procedure and, in fact, provides the only justification for grouping units of tempus into larger aggregates in the absence of a consistent mode.

In Ballade 6, the appearance of perfect *modus* led both Ludwig and Schrade to an error in transcription and an unnecessary emendation that badly falsifies Machaut's intentions. Schrade discusses at some length the problem of an extra breve value in the cantus in bar 11 [31]. The solution of both Ludwig and Schrade — omitting the breve value — not only produces parallel octaves in bar 11, but it destroys the musical rhyme between this bar and the last bars of the Ballade. Actually, there is no problem at all if the long in bar 9 is correctly transcribed as a duple rather than a triple value (Ex. 5) [32].

Ex. 5. Ballade 6, Doulz amis.

Despite the fact that his barrings usually improve on Ludwig's, Schrade does introduce some arbitrary changes of his own in the Credo of the Mass (bars 20-21; 38-45; and 106-110). There seems to be no necessity for introducing 3/2 bars in these passages instead of continuing in 2/2 as Ludwig does. Moreover, Schrade's version betrays the original in bar 109, where the 3/2 grouping suggests that the last note in each voice is an altered breve. Actually, they are all imperfect longs, and the passage is correctly barred by Ludwig.

Another type of problem arises in Rondeau 8, which Schrade bars in 2/2 with occasional bars of 2/4. In bars 8-21, the musical patterns of tenor and contratenor are clearly in 2/2, with an added bar of 2/4 (or one of 3/2) being necessary. The cantus, on the other hand, has 3/2 patterns from the second half of bar 8 to bar 21. In such cases, where the musical patterns of the different voices do not agree, two alternatives present themselves: the parts may be barred individually and differently, or they may all be barred alike. If the latter procedure is chosen, as most modern editors do, barring by *tempus* seems least apt to obscure the independent rhythmic organization of the contrapuntal lines.

[31] Schrade, *Notes,* p. 102.

[32] Cf. Apel, *Notation,* Facs. 69 and discussion p. 355.

The same difficulty occurs with some frequency in the motets, where the lower part or parts normally do involve *modus*. We have already seen one instance in which the grouping of the upper voices is not in accord with the units of *modus* in the tenor (Ex. 2), and there are other and even more striking examples. In Motet 13, the voices are not always in the 2 x 6/8 grouping of Schrade's signature and barring. The motetus in bars 5-10 is 3 + 3, and both upper parts in bars 16-19 have 3-bar units that do not coincide with each other. Even the 2-bar pattern of the rhythmic sequence in bars 22-26 lies across the tenor units. Thus the flexible grouping of the voices in units of two and three bars is obscured by a rigid barring according to the imperfect *modus* of the tenor. In contrary fashion, 2-bar and 4-bar divisions in Motet 14, bars 20-28, are obscured by barring according to perfect *modus;* and again in Motet 17, the voices are clearly in imperfect *modus,* and barring by the perfect *modus* of the tenor is all wrong for the upper parts.

There are other cases in which it is evident that Machaut was thinking in terms of different modes in the different parts. The tenor of Motet 10, for example, is in perfect *modus,* but series of imperfect longs in the duplum (bars 18-25) prove that the upper parts were considered to be in *modus imperfectus*. The disparity of mode is even more obvious in Motet 23. Schrade calls attention to the differences between his edition and Ludwig's and asserts that Ludwig did not present the *modus* of the introitus correctly. But there is no justification for Schrade's barring of the rests in tenor and contratenor as 3 x 2 x 6/8. They are clearly written as perfect longs grouped in pairs; i.e., the *modus maior* is imperfect and the *modus minor* is perfect, not vice versa. These rests establish the mode, not only for the introitus, but also for all the passages in black notes in the main body of Motet 23, which Schrade does bar correctly as 2 x 3 x 6/8. In the upper voices, however, both *modus maior* and *modus minor* are imperfect, as is indicated by the rests in the duplum: imperfect longs grouped in pairs. This indication of *modus minor* is confirmed in bars 38-39, where the voices have imperfect longs while tenor and contratenor have altered breves. The *modus maior* of the upper voices is of no real significance, but if it is indicated at all it should be 2 x 2 x 6/8, not the 3 x 2 x 6/8 that Schrade has. Apparently, then, Schrade has barred the Introitus according to an erroneous reading of the mode of the upper voices, whereas Ludwig barred it according to the mode of the tenor and contratenor parts.

To all these difficulties of barring, no easy solution presents itself. The generally accepted method of barring according to the *modus* of the lower parts — where *modus* is present — has its advantages, which perhaps outweigh the disadvantages we have just been examining. The analysis and projection of the rhythmic structure in the upper voices must then be left to the performer. He should at least be warned that the visual

blocks of two or three bars do not necessarily correspond to the musical structure. Certainly he should not be further misled by signatures such as 3 x 6/8 for upper voices that are clearly not conceived in 3-bar units.

A related question involves the barring of tenors in diminution. In Motet 18, Schrade reduces eight units of *modus perfectus* to twelve bars of 6/8. Actually, the diminished version must be read in *tempus perfectum* and should have been notated in 9/8. In some cases, Schrade did notate this diminution correctly, as in Motet 1, where the upper parts are also in 9/8, and in Motet 2, where the tenor is in 9/8 against 6/8 in the upper parts. In Motet 10, however, *modus perfectus* is again diminished to *tempus imperfectum*. Since here the mode is itself syncopated, the musical effect is not too serious. A transcription in 6/8 is wrong, however, for the tenor cannot be read in imperfect *tempus*.

A final difficulty to be mentioned arises from an uncertainty as to whether Machaut intended syncopation or change of mode in some passages. In Motet 4, bars 19-35, Schrade says that there is change of mode, not syncopation, in the tenor [33]. As transcribed, however, this passage appears to the eye to be syncopation. If a change of mode does occur, should it not be indicated by a change of signature and barring, as is done in the duplum of the same motet, bars 16-24? Another such passage occurs in Motet 7, bars 25-30, where a change of barring in the tenor — assuming change of mode rather than syncopation — would make the tenor pattern (𝅗𝅥. 𝅗𝅥.) agree with the 3-bar units of the upper voices.

Many of these barring problems are insoluble as long as unbarred voices written separately must be put into modern score for the benefit of present-day performers. In some cases, a solution of sorts can be reached, and some flexibility of barring might well be adopted, even at the risk of arousing controversy. In all cases, it should be the constant preoccupation of a transcriber to set forth the rhythmic organization of the original in as clear a manner as possible. One of the marvels of 14th-century music is precisely its rhythmic flexibility and freedom, but nowhere, and especially not in the music of Machaut, does this freedom degenerate into licence.

As to the other presumed licences discussed earlier, there seems to be abundant evidence that they do not really exist. Contemporary theorists, who commented on Machaut's extension of normal practices, would certainly not have hesitated to point out actual errors in notation. The principles of imperfection and alteration were obviously known to Machaut and were correctly applied by him in the vast majority of cases. Slips of the pen he must have made. That he consistently made the same errors is hard to credit. It is even less credible that he deliberately but only occasionally

[33] Schrade, *Notes*, pp. 76-77.

allowed himself the "licence" of a notational error. Failure to transcribe Machaut according to the notational principles he himself observed has done more than deprive us of a completely accurate picture of his music. Almost worse, it has attributed to him a carelessness and irresponsibility that are inconsistent with his stature as a musician and an artist.

Paris, November, 1959

A POSTSCRIPT TO PHILIPPE DE VITRY's *ARS NOVA*

GILBERT REANEY

The teaching of Philippe de Vitry, important as it is for the history of music in the 14th century, is not easily circumscribed since the preserved versions of his treatise *Ars nova* are all different. Moreover, they tend to be abbreviated or to some extent corrupt. The Vatican source, which is best known owing to its publication by Coussemaker, omits the *Ars vetus,* also by Vitry, which appears in an abbreviated form in the Paris ms, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin 7378A. Nevertheless, although the latter is probably our earliest source, the musical examples are missing and both the *Ars vetus* and *Ars nova* have been cut down. Editions of the Paris and the Vatican source were published in *Musica Disciplina* X (1956), pp. 38-53 and 13-31 respectively. The Paris codex is the only preserved 14th century source, though the Vatican ms dates from c. 1400 and closely follows the version found in an early 15th century Paris ms, Bibl. Nat., fonds latin 14741. The publication of another recently identified copy of the *Ars nova* in *Musica Disciplina* XII (1958), 61-66 reveals once again another arrangement of the basic material. The anonymity of the treatise in this codex, London, British Museum, Addition 21455, and its unusual appearance accounted for the fact that it remained unrecognized for so long.

All these factors show that the theoretical work of Vitry must have been imparted mainly by word of mouth, for it is exceptional to find a treatise in such widely differing forms. After all this, it was hardly surprising to find a still more abbreviated compendium of Vitry's teaching in a late 15th century source, Siena, Bibl. Comunale, L.V. 30. The presence of this *tractatulus* on f. 129-129v of the manuscript was pointed out to me by Professor K. von Fischer of Zürich. It is only of interest as a further testimony of the influence of Vitry as a theorist, for its extreme brevity gives it little room to say anything at all. Nevertheless, it clearly combines both the old and the new arts, as can be seen from the opening sentence. The two points treated are the distinction between *modus perfectus* and *modus imperfectus,* and the use of red notes, the latter indicated in the examples by hollow notes. Most of the references can be traced in the other known versions of Vitry's treatise. The definition of the *longa* is more or less identical to that at the beginning of the London version (*Musica Disciplina* XII, 61) and that in the Paris codex lat. 7378A (*Musica Disciplina* X, 40, lines 15-19). The reference to the Trinity occurs in the London ms (*Musica*

Disciplina XII, 62), and the use of the rests to distinguish between perfect and imperfect *modus* is discussed in the Vatican codex (*Musica Disciplina* X, 26). Red notes, an important factor in Vitry's theory, are not mentioned at all in the London ms. In the Siena codex there is simply a general statement that red longs, breves or semibreves change the mode, time or prolation from perfect to imperfect. The qualification about the presence of the next higher note-value (*nisi cum aliqua longa forsitan ordinentur*) seems to be a corruption of the rule that a red note will prevent alteration. In this case, the motet *In arboris* exemplifies the general rule while *In nova fert animus* refers to the exception. This can be confirmed by a glance at the Vatican and Paris sources (*Musica Disciplina* X, 28 and 52).

A full description of the Siena manuscript is given by Dr J. Smits van Waesberghe in *Expositiones in Micrologum Guidonis Aretini,* Amsterdam 1957, 65f, though this source is evidently late 15th rather than 14th century. Indicative of the date is the counterpoint treatise which ends the manuscript, for this work is probably by John Hothby (d. 1487). It occurs in at least two more Italian manuscripts: London, British Museum, Egerton 2954 and Florence, Bibl. Laur., Ashburnham 1119. Particularly striking however is the discovery that the treatise of Lambertus turns up again in the Siena codex some 200 years after it was written.

In the following edition of the compendium, additions are indicated by square brackets, omissions by round ones in the usual manner. In addition, the Latin *Philippus* has been substituted for *Philippo* in the title.

Sub brevissimo compendio Philippus de Vitriaco
in musica incipit.

Omni desideranti notitiam artis musicae mensurabilis tam novae quam veteris obtinere, certas regulas hic presentes sub brevi compendio proposse non postpono fideliter assignare. Et quia voces seu notulas proportionabiliter oportet in hoc opere mensurare prout longae vel breves et semibreves ac minimae figurantur, idcirco ad figurationem et valorem ipsarum breviter procedamus.

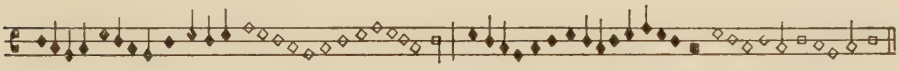
Longa ergo sub forma quadrata figurata est habens tractum a parte dextra ascendentem vel descendentem, vel duos quorum dexter(a) excedit sinistrum; et tunc talis nota dicitur plica longa et valet tria tempora in modo perfecto, duo autem in imperfecto. Modus imperfectus est breves vel tempora per numerum binarium computare, et dicitur imperfectus eo quod numerus binarius est imperfectus. Numerus vero ternarius est perfectus assumptus a trinitate, scilicet a patre et filio et spiritu sancto ubi est summa perfectio. Modus perfectus cognoscitur per pausas quando pausae in longas sunt perfectae vel quando de longa usque ad aliam longam per numerum

ternarium melius quam binarium tempora computantur ut hic patet:

Item nota: modus, tempus et prolatio per rubeas distinguntur figuras. Inde quandocumque longa invenitur rubea, ponitur ad differentiam modi. Itaque si nigrae fuerint de modo perfecto, rubeae sunt de modo imperfecto et e converso, ut hic patet:

Breves ponuntur rubeae ad differentiam temporis. Itaque si nigrae breves fuerint de tempore perfecto, rubeae sunt de imperfecto et e converso, nisi cum aliqua longa forsitan ordine[n]tur, sicut in mottetti tenore qui dicitur *In arboris,* vel in tenore de *In nova fert animus* ut hic: (Ex. 3). Semibreves

rubeae ponuntur ad differentiam prolationis, ut si nigrae semibreves fuerint de maiori prolatione, rubeae sunt de minori et e converso, nisi semibreves cum aliqua brevi forsitan ordine[n]tur (quia tunc ponuntur ad differentiam prolationis), ut hic patet:



Hos versus disce qui cantum discere cupis:

Ante namque longa[m], tria tempora longa meretur.
Si brevis addatur, duo tempora longa tenetur.
Inter perfectas, si brevis bina locetur,
temporis unius sit prima, secunda dupletur.

Explicit Philippus de Vitriaco.

THE MANUSCRIPT PARIS, BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE, FONDS ITALIEN 568 (*Pit*)

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Of the four principal sources of Trecento secular polyphony, *Pit* has a special importance because it is the only codex to contain the works of Paolo. Room was indeed left for the works of this composer on f. 56-71 of *Sq,* but they were never inserted [1], and *Lo* and *PR* each contain one work only by him. In addition, the composite Mass Ordinary nos. 192 and 194-197 is a unique feature of this manuscript. The French compositions, mostly textless, which fill in a number of blank spaces in *Pit,* may on the other hand be paralleled by those in *FP.* If its Florentine origin is not quite so certain as that of *Sq* and *FP,* nevertheless it may be considered as a central source, for many pieces were copied from it into *Sq.*

THE MANUSCRIPT

The codex Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds italien 568 is a quarto manuscript measuring 257 x 175 mm. The leaves are of parchment and the binding, which dates from the reign of Charles X, is of brown leather. It bears the title *Chansons italiennes en musique* on the spine and the French device of three lilies together with Charles' monogram on the front cover. There were originally 140 folios with a Roman foliation at top right recto, but the addition of folios A-I containing the old index was made shortly after the original corpus was written. The same remark may be made concerning f. 141, for this contains a Guidonian hand paralleling the solmisation exercises by intervals on f. 140v. Interestingly enough, there are sharp, flat and natural forms of such notes as C sol fa ut and D la sol re in the Guidonian hand. The paper flyleaves at front and rear, which belong to the modern binding, do not concern us here; but f. A bears two older call-numbers of the King's Library at the head of the page: "no. 165 du supplément" and "supplément français no. 535" respectively. The ink foliation of folios A-I and 141 at top right recto doubtless dates from the time of the modern binding. Like f. 140v-141, an illustration on f. 1 suggests ecclesiastical origins, since solmisation exercises and references to basic musical theory are unlikely to have originated outside the church. The painting in question

[1] Pirrotta L III, 141.

shows the female personification of music playing a portative organ, underneath which is a representation of a bearded man hammering on an anvil. To his left and right are two columns, one listing the intervals which compose an octave, the other giving solmisation syllables.

Dating the manuscript is not a simple matter, though it was probably written shortly after 1400. One of Paolo's madrigals *Godi, Firenze* suggests the date 1406, for it doubtless refers to the conquest of Pisa by Florence in that year. FischerS [2] puts forward the following chronology: c. 1405 for fascicles 1-5, 7 and 9-14; c. 1410 for the interpolated fascicles 6 and 8. All the fascicles are in fact quinios, but Ludwig pointed out that nos. 6 and 8 were interpolated later into the main corpus [3]. He and Apel date *Pit* c. 1400 [4]. Pirrotta, with his tendency to postdate on paleographical grounds, suggests 1430 [5], but this seems unlikely. Fascicles 6 and 8, whether interpolated or not, do not appreciably change the situation. Paolo's work already appears in fascicles 4 and 5, and after fascicle 8 it is continued smoothly into no. 9. The part played by Paolo in the make-up of *Pit* is an important one. Not only does the ms preserve 33 of his works, but also his name is nearly always indicated by the abbreviation P ↄ. This suggests considerable familiarity with his work, and such familiarity is otherwise only indicated in the case of Landini and then only after he has been referred to as Francesco through a large part of the ms. Could Paolo himself have written the ms? At all events, there can be no doubt that this scribe is intimately connected with Paolo, since he wrote down *Pit* 100 in *Luc* [6] and *Pit* 73, 102 and 112 in *Lw* [7]. The possibility that Andrea Stefani was one of the scribes in *Luc* has been considered [8], but not Paolo himself, though Pirrotta is of the opinion that the majority of Paolo's compositions in *Pit* were written by the scribe in question [9]. Coinciding with this idea that Paolo himself played a large part in compiling *Pit* is the date when we know Paolo was abbot of San Pietro di Pozzuoli near Lucca, 1404-1408 [10]. Although the attachment to Lucca was probably nominal, it seems

[2] P. 93.

[3] F. Ludwig, 'Beschreibung der "Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250-1460" von Joh. Wolf' in *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* VI (1904-5), 615.

[4] MachM II, 27b; ApelL, 3.

[5] PirrottaL III, 119, note 13.

[6] PirrottaL I, 124.

[7] N. Pirrotta, 'Paolo da Firenze in un nuovo frammento dell' Ars Nova' in *Musica Disciplina* X (1956), 65.

[8] PirrottaL I, 122.

[9] *Ibid,* 123.

[10] Cf. N. Pirrotta, 'Paolo Tenorista, fiorentino "extra moenia" ' in *Estudios dedicados a Menendez Pidal* III (1952), 577 ff.

likely that Paolo spent some time there, and this might account for the copying of certain pieces by the *Pit* scribe in *Luc*. On the other hand, the Florentine connections of *Pit* are very obvious, and there seems no reason why the ms should not have been written there. Paolo was himself a Florentine, and, as a member of the suite of cardinal Angelo Acciaiuoli, he was also in the service of a Florentine ecclesiastic. Florentine traits in *Pit* are the central Trecento repertoire it contains, the presence of French compositions (as in *FP*, with which it has a number of French concordances) and the direct borrowing for *Sq*. Wolf thought the old index revealed the different stages of the manuscript's growth, and Ludwig confirmed it [11]. Only two pieces have been omitted from the index. Characteristically these do not belong to the main Trecento repertoire: no. 11 is an anonymous three-part French Rondeau and no. 59 a madrigal by Paolo. Incidentally, the full names of each composer are given for the pieces of the mass ordinary in the old index except for Paolo, who retains the typical abbreviation of the ms corpus.

The whole codex is ruled for music with 8 red six-line staves per page. The notation is black, though particularly Paolo makes use of white notes and occasional red ones. Semiminim tails are nearly always turned to the left. In spite of the relatively full use which *Pit* makes of Italian mensuration letters and *puncti divisionis*, the manuscript is not without French tendencies, especially in connection with mensuration signs. The mass movements in particular employ the following forms for Vitry's *quatre prolations:* ⊙, ⊙·, ☾, ☾·; and even Vitry's ▤ crops up for Gherardello's Gloria. This is interesting, because it suggests Vitry's treatise was followed in the form in which it was preserved in the Vatican version [12]. It is clear that originally this box-like mensuration sign was derived from the symbols we see in certain motets of the *Roman de Fauvel*. These look like two or three semibreve rests: 𝄩 or 𝄩𝄩, and indicate imperfect or perfect mode. In order to introduce such a sign into a theoretical work, it was enclosed in a frame, thus: ▣ or ▣, as we see it in *Sq* [13]. The box containing two or three horizontal bars can only be considered a corruption. Paolo is again particularly worth mentioning for his use of Italian mensuration letters in the Benedicamus, while all the other mass pieces use French mensuration signs. Moreover, his piece is in three parts and is clearly a *Nachtrag*, for it forms a clear contrast with the two-part madrigal texture of the four pieces by the older writers. The intimate connection between the scribe of the Paolo work and the codex as a whole is shown by the

[11] WolfG I, 250; MachM II, 27 f.

[12] See G. Reaney, A. Gilles and J. Maillard, 'The "Ars Nova" of Philippe de Vitry' in *Musica Disciplina* X (1956), 27.

[13] FischerS, 116.

fact that he leaves the work anonymous in the corpus, but indicates it as the work of Paolo in the index. Paolo's modernity is revealed by his liking for new note-forms like the dragma, e.g. and , though these do not occur many times. Such characteristic Italian note-forms as and also belong to the late Trecento. In no. 110 Paolo uses a French text for the refrain, and this may account for the French mensuration signs and , which occur in this section, for he normally sticks to the Italian mensuration letters. The rather complex question of *longa* versus *brevis* notation has been well treated by Professor von Fischer, who indicates that there are four examples of the special use of *longa* notation in *Pit* [14]. The semi-Gothic script of this source employs initials in red and blue. The use of a dot underneath an elided vowel is an interesting feature of *Pit* which was taken up by Ludwig for his Machaut edition.

THE CONTENTS

Codex *Pit* contains 199 pieces, of which 2 have been copied twice. This however was a mistake in both cases, and both pieces are textless in the second copy and have the word "vacat" in the margin. For this reason they have not been numbered individually in the second case, but bear the numbers 23a and 67a respectively. The basic arrangement of the ms is by composers, with the usual preference given to Madrigals and Cacce before the more recent Ballate. The Madrigals are confined to the first 5 fascicles, with the exception of 6 Madrigals by Paolo in fascicle 6 and an anonymous work in fascicle 14. Again typically, the gaps left on double pages by these large two-part works are often filled by shorter Ballate or French compositions. From fascicle 7 onwards Ballate predominate: indeed, nos. 81-174 are all in this form (no. 84 is a Virelai, but this is essentially the same form as the Ballata). Fascicle 13 consists mainly of French compositions, with a few Ballate at the end; and fascicle 14 is principally made up of the composite mass, which only lacks the Kyrie, a common omission at this period.

With respect to the number of voices employed in polyphony, *Pit* is quite standard, for the Italians rarely wrote in more than three parts, and there is not a single four-part composition in this codex. Nor are there any monodies, which are in any case rare in Trecento sources. The entire manuscript consists of 110 two-part and 89 three-part compositions. The adherence of this source to the central tradition becomes clear from the fact that all the Madrigals have the text in all voices, whether they are in two or three parts. Of the Ballate, 47 two-part works have the text in both

[14] K. von Fischer, 'Zur Entwicklung der italienischen Trecento-Notation' in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* XVI (1959), 87.

voices, while the remaining 8 have it only in the upper voice. The three-part Ballate rarely have the text in all voices, and French influence is clearly present in the large number of compositions with textless tenors and contra-tenors. *Pit* has 23 Ballate of 3^1 type, 27 of 3^2, but only 8 of 3^3.

At the side of *FP, Lo* and *Sq,* the codex *Pit* is not well represented by the Caccia form. Out of 25 known examples, it only contains 5, while *FP* has 15. The Ballades, Rondeaux and Virelais are a fairly representative batch. *Adiu, adiu, dous dame yolie* was written by Landini, and hence is hardly to be included with the French compositions, while *Or sus, vous dormés trop,* an anonymous work, is known principally from Italian sources. The three Ballades by Machaut were extremely popular, like *De ce que fol pense* by P. des Molins, the anonymous *Jour a jour la vie* and *Je languis d'amere mort.* It is interesting to find that a number of the lesser-known pieces turn up in such peripheral sources as *Pr* and *Str,* both Strasbourg manuscripts. About 1400 this town was undoubtedly a meeting-point for music of the most diverse origins: French, Italian, German and Dutch. The contacts with *Ch* too are probably another confirmation of that source's Florentine origin.

The following table shows the exact distribution of the contents of *Pit,* according to the various musical and poetic forms employed. The numbers are those of the progressive numeration assigned in the inventory proper. Those numbers followed by an asterisk refer to *unica.*

TABLE 1

Species	Total	Number in *Pit*
Madrigals	45	1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24-26, 28, 29, 31, 33, 35, 36, 38, 39, 42, 44, 46, 51, 55*, 56, 57 (= 67a)*, 58*, 59*, 61, 62, 66, 68, 69*, 75*, 76*, 77*, 78*, 79*, 80*, 198*.
Ballate	113	7, 9, 13, 17, 47, 49*, 50, 60, 63, 70, 71, 72*, 73, 74, 81*, 82, 83, 85-98, 99*, 100, 101*, 102, 103*, 104*, 105*, 106*, 107*, 108*, 109*, 110*, 111*, 112, 113*, 114*, 115*, 116*, 117*, 118*, 119, 120, 121*, 122-127, 128*, 129, 130, 131*, 132-134, 135*, 136, 137*, 138, 139*, 140*, 141-145, 146*, 147*,

Species	Total	Number in *Pit*
		148-152, 153*, 154-159, 160*, 161*, 162*, 163*, 164-171, 172*, 173*, 174*, 187, 188*, 189, 190*, 191, 199*.
Cacce	5	40, 48, 53, 65, 67.
Ballades	10	3*, 45, 54, 64, 175, 177, 180, 182, 183, 185.
Rondeaux	11	5, 11, 19, 21*, 27*, 30*, 34 (= 23a)*, 41, 52*, 179*, 184*.
Virelais	8	15*, 32*, 37*, 43*, 84, 181, 186, 193.
Isorhythmic Rondeau	1	176.
Rondeau refrain	1	178.
Gloria	1	192.
Credo	1	194*.
Sanctus	1	195.
Agnus dei	1	196*.
Benedicamus	1	197*.

Included in the above list are pieces concordant with the lost mss *Str* (partially available in de Coussemaker's copy) and *Trem,* as well as keyboard arrangements and tablatures in *Loch, Bux* and *Fa.* These may be checked from the concordance table and the inventory proper.

COMPOSERS

Many pieces in *Pit* bear the composer's name in the upper margin, and in certain cases there is a supplementary piece of information. Such titles as Maestro, Don and Ser are usually given in the earlier part of the manuscript (fascicles 1-5), and Paolo is called *tenorista,* Bartolino *schappuccia* (Franciscan). The town of origin is often given too, Bologna for Jacopo and Florence for Giovanni, Francesco, Lorenzo and Paolo, the

village of Cascia near Florence for Donato. Francesco Landini is called Francesco degli orghany, and Florence is not mentioned for him. Frate Guilielmo di Francia is coupled with one Egidius in *Sq,* and it has been conjectured that Egidius was the poet and Guilielmus the musician [15]. This seems quite likely, seeing that Guilielmus alone is mentioned in *Pit* and *Lo.* In the latter source he is named Guigliemo di santo spirito, that is, of the Augustinian Santo Spirito in Florence [16]. On the other hand, there certainly is an Augustinian Egidius represented in *Mod* and *Ch* who composed French works [17], so that it is difficult to decide what part Egidius played in the composition of the pieces also attributed to Guilielmus. Pirrotta has suggested that Guilielmus was a slightly older composer than Egidius, because Guilielmus wrote a madrigal on a text by Sacchetti c. 1365 [18], but the Egidius of the French compositions could hardly have been much older than the Egidius of the Italian works, since he wrote his Ballade *Courtois et sages* for the election of Pope Clement VII in 1378. Whatever connection there may have been between the musical theorist Egidius de Murino and the composer Egidius Augustinus, it seems clear that there was a definite connection between Egidius Augustinus (the composer of the French works and presumably of the Italian works at least in regard to the texts) and Guilielmus. The latter is in fact a Parisian according to one reference, and not merely French [19].

The names of the French composers, like the texts, seem to be generally omitted, though P. des Molins is called De Mulino in no. 5. Gian Toscano is known by only one composition (*Pit* 81), though Professor von Fischer suggests that he may be identical with the Johannes Florentinus whose madrigal *Quando amor gli ochi* appeared in the lost Roquefort fragment, or perhaps with the Jovannes horghanista de Florentia whose works were to have been included on the empty pages of *Sq* starting at f. 195v [20]. Arrigo too, who is called Henricus in *PR,* has left only one Ballata, while Ser Feo, not necessarily to be identified with Francesco Landini, has left two Ballate, one in *FP* and one in *Pit.* Ciconia's *Con lagrime bagnandome,* the only piece in *Pit* by this composer, seems to have been a late addition,

[15] FischerS, 8.

[16] G. Reaney, 'The Manuscript London, British Museum, Additional 29987 (*Lo*)' in *Musica Disciplina* XII (1958), 71.

[17] G. Reaney, 'The Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Condé 1047' in *Musica Disciplina* VIII (1954), 69.

[18] N. Pirrotta, 'Il Codice Estense lat. 568 e la musica francese al principio del '400' ' in *Atti della Reale Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Arti di Palermo,* Serie IV, vol. 5, part II (1944-45), 129, note 3.

[19] O. Gombosi, review of ApelL in *Musical Quarterly* XXXVI (1950), 604.

[20] FischerS, 34, notes 143 and 144; 70, note 344.

as its position at the end of the letter Cs in the index suggests. Pirrotta has put forward the theory that the Bartholy who wrote the Patrem no. 194 is a different person from the well-known Bartolino da Padua, by whom we have some 38 compositions in Madrigal and Ballata form[21]. This Bartholus de Florentia is however a somewhat shadowy figure, and the only reason for Pirrotta's hypothesis seems to be that the Patrem is older in style than the other compositions written by Bartholino da Padua. The identification should therefore be viewed with some caution. The fact that the other composers of mass movements in *Pit,* namely Gherardello, Lorenzo and Paolo, are well-known for their secular pieces, suggests that Bartholy too is likely to belong among the Trecento musical celebrities.

Of the 199 polyphonic works, 152 can be definitely attributed to their authors and 47 are anonymous. The following list groups under each composer's name the works attributed to him, indicated by their ordinal number according to the inventory published below. Numbers printed with asterisks refer as before to *unica.* In addition to the 47 definitely anonymous compositions, 29 polyphonic works are anonymous in *Pit* whose composers' names are to be found in other sources. Of these, 20 are by Italian and 9 by French composers, if Ciconia is included with the French. The apparently large number of Italian compositions which are anonymous compared with French works is due to the fact that the writer obviously omitted the name of Landini on a few occasions in the very large Landini section which runs from f. 84v-118 almost without a break (17 occasions, to be precise). At other times, as has been mentioned, he simply wrote in the initial F for Francesco. Thus only 3 pieces remain anonymous in *Pit* which can be traced to other Italian composers than Landini in other sources.

TABLE 2

Composer	No. of works	Number in *Pit*
Andrea	1	70.
Arrigo	1	138.
Bartolino da Padua	5	60-62, 68, 194*.
Ciconia	1	74.
Donato da Cascia	5	24-26, 28, 67.
Garinus	1	176.

[21] PirrottaM, introduction.

Composer	No. of works	Number in *Pit*
Gherardello	5	40, 42, 44, 192, 196*.
Gian Toscano	1	81*.
Giovanni da Cascia	4	29, 31, 33, 35.
Grimace	1	64.
Guilielmus de Francia	2	9, 17.
Jacopo da Bologna	11	1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 65.
Landini, Francesco	61	7, 13, 20, 22, 23, 82-98, 119, 120, 122-127, 129, 130, 132-134, 136, 141-145, 148-152, 154-159, 164-171, 187.
Lorenzo	4	36, 38, 39, 195.
Machaut	3	175, 180, 183.
Magister Franciscus	1	54.
Nicolo da Perugia	6	46-48, 50, 66, 189.
Paolo	33	55*, 56, 57*, 58*, 59*, 71, 72*, 73, 75*, 76*, 77*, 78*, 79*, 80*, 99*, 100, 101*, 102, 103*, 104*, 105*, 106*, 107*, 109*, 110*, 111*, 112, 113*, 114*, 115*, 116*, 117*, 197*.
Philippot de Caserta	1	185.
Pierre des Molins	2	5, 182.
Ser Feo	1	161*.
Vincenzo da Imola	2	51, 53.

CONCORDANCES

The codex *Pit* contains the relatively low number of 4 *unica,* if we except the anonymous works and those of Paolo. This is partly accounted for by the fact that the compositions of the principal Trecento composers

except Paolo, who should also have been included, were copied, in many cases from *Pit,* into *Sq.* Of Paolo's works 27 are *unica,* and 4 of the remaining 6 pieces are in the fragmentary Paolo codex *Lw.* Altogether, however, *Pit* contains 67 *unica,* which shows that the anonymous compositions form the main body of works which do not appear outside this codex. The following table shows the distribution of the *unica* among the various species represented in the manuscript.

TABLE 3

Species	Total	Species	Total
Madrigals	12	Virelais	4
Ballate	40	Credo	1
Ballades	1	Agnus dei	1
Rondeaux	7	Benedicamus	1

The following table of concordances makes clear the relationship between *Pit* and the 31 manuscripts containing any one of the works copied therein, whether in whole or in part, in original version or in arrangement.

TABLE 4

Source	Number of Concordances	Number in *Pit*
Aut	1 Cantus	54.
Bux	1	74 (4 versions).
CaB	3	19, 182, 193.
Ch	7	45, 54, 64, 176, 182, 183, 185.
Em	2	98, 178.
Fa	11	1, 2, 6, 8, 62, 68, 83, 144, 175, 178 (2 versions), 182.
FC	2 Cantus + 1 T	12 (Cantus only), 14 (T only), 31 (Cantus only).
FP	85	1, 2, 4, 6-8, 10, 12-14, 16-20, 22, 24, 26, 29, 31, 33, 35, 36, 38-40, 42, 44, 46, 60, 62, 63, 65, 82, 83, 85-87, 89-98, 119, 120, 122-127, 129, 130, 132-134, 136, 141, 142, 144, 145, 149, 154, 156-159, 165-171, 175, 178, 180, 182, 183, 193.

Source	Number of Concordances	Number in *Pit*
Iv	3	5, 19, 181.
Lo	32	14, 16, 18, 22, 35, 38, 40, 42, 50, 51, 53, 56, 60, 62, 63, 66, 83, 84, 89, 90, 93, 94, 119, 120, 129, 130, 143, 145, 165, 170, 181, 189.
Loch	1	74.
Luc	6 + 1 Cantus and Ct + 1 T and Ct + 1 T	60, 62 (T and Ct only), 68, 74 (T only), 97, 100, 120 (Cantus and Ct only), 127, 191.
Lw	2 + 1 Cantus and T + 1 Cantus	71, 73 (Cantus and T only), 102, 112 (Cantus only).
Mach	3	175, 180, 183.
McV	1	182.
Mod	5	68, 130, 175, 183, 186.
PadA	5	8, 93, 120, 127, 132.
PadC	3	8, 65, 181.
Parma	1 Ct	193.
PC	1 T	74.
Pist	1 + 1 Cantus and T	91 (Cantus and T), 122.
Pr	6	5, 11, 132, 177, 183, 193.
PR	41	1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 29, 41, 54, 60, 62, 63, 65, 68, 82, 83, 85, 91-94, 96, 98, 120, 127, 129, 138, 143, 149, 152, 156, 178, 180-182, 186, 193.
Pz	1	144.
RO	1 T + 1 Cantus	31 (T only), 38 (Cantus only).
Rs	1 Cantus	31.
RU$_1$	2	192, 195.
Sq	102	1, 2, 4, 6-10, 12-14, 16-18, 20, 22, 23, 24-26, 28, 29, 31, 33, 35, 36, 38-40, 42, 44, 46-48, 50, 51, 53, 60-62, 65-67, 68, 70, 82-98, 119, 120, 122-127, 129, 130, 132-134, 136, 141-145, 148-152, 154-159, 164-171, 187, 189.
Str	11	5 (twice), 11, 41, 98, 133, 175, 177, 178, 181, 182, 193.
Tit	1	178.
Trem	8	5, 19, 54, 175, 178, 180, 182, 183.

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VanM	G. de Van, *Monuments de l'Ars Nova,* Paris, 1938.
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Ch	Chantilly, Musée Condé, 1047. Inventory by G. Reaney, *Musica Disciplina* VIII (1954), 88-95.
Em	Munich, Staatsbibl., mus. 3232a. Inventory in Dez, 79-99.
Fa	Faenza, Bibl. Comunale, 117. Inventory of keyboard music in Plamenac, 197-201.
FC	Florence, Bibl. del Conservatorio D 1175. Description in FischerS, 10.
FP	Florence, Bibl. nazionale, Panciatichi 26. Provisional list in WolfG I, 245-249.
Iv	Ivrea, Bibl. capitolare. Inventory by H. Besseler, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VII (1925), 188-191.
Lo	London, British Museum, Additional ms 29987. Inventory by G. Reaney, *Musica Disciplina* XII (1958), 78-86.
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Mach	Machaut mss. Full descriptions in MachM II.
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Parma	Parma, Archivio di Stato, 52. Inventory by H. Besseler, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VII (1925), 232.
PC	Paris, Bibl. nationale, nouvelle acquisition française 4379. Inven-

tory of ff. 1-42 by D. Plamenac, *Musical Quarterly* XXXVIII (1952), 100-117, 248-249, 260-265; incomplete inventory of ff. 43-60v in WolfG I, 211-213; index of tenors on ff. 61-65 by H. Besseler, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VII (1925), 233.

Pist Pistoia, Archivio Capitolare del Duomo. Inventory by F. Ghisi, *Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music* I (1946), 180.

Pr Prague, Universitäts-Bibl., XI. E. 9. Inventory in Kammerer, 15-16.

PR Paris, Bibl. nationale, nouvelle acquisition française 6771. Inventory by K. von Fischer, *Musica Disciplina* XI (1957), 53-77.

Pz Paris, Bibl. nationale, nouvelle acquisition française 4917.

RO Rome, Bibl. Vaticana, Ottob. 1790. Inventory by F. Ludwig, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* V (1923), 201, note 1.

Rs Rome, Bibl. Vaticana, Rossi 215. Inventory by H. Besseler, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VIII (1927), 234.

*RU*1 Rome, Bibl. Vaticana, Urb. lat. 1419. Inventory by H. Besseler, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VII (1925), 227.

Sq Florence, Bibl. Laurentiana, Pal. 87. Provisional list in WolfG I, 233-244.

Str Strasbourg, Bibl. de la ville, M. 222 C. 22. Inventory by Ch. van den Borren, *Le Manuscrit musical M. 222 C. 22 de la Bibliothèque de Strasbourg,* Antwerp, 1924.

Tit London, British Museum, Cotton Titus A XXVI. Index by H. Besseler, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VII (1925), 233.

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ABBREVIATIONS

B	Ballade	O	Ordinary of the Mass
Ca	Caccia	R	Rondeau
Ct	Contratenor	Rr	Rondeau refrain
isR	Isorhythmic Rondeau	T	Tenor
itB	Italian Ballata	*Tr*	Triplum
Ma	Madrigal	V	Virelai

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No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
1	1v-2	Sotto l'inperio	3^3	Ma	Maestro Jacopo da Bologna	*FP* f. 71v-72; *PR* f. 1v-2 (an.); *Sq* f. 7v-8; *Fa* no. 18 (2 voc. tab., an.)	Facs. MarroccoJ, front pl. (*Sq*); Gandolfi, pl. VIII (*Sq*). Edn. MarroccoJ, 95; WolfSq. 17.
2	2v-3	Aquil' altera ferma	3^{1+1+1}	Ma	M. Jacopo da Bologna	*FP* f. 91v-92; *PR* f. 2v-3 (an); *Sq* f. 8v-9; *Fa* no. 22 (2 voc. tab., an.)	Soll, no. 25. Facs. ApelN, 375 (*Pit*); WolfS, pl. 79 (*Sq*). Edn. Husmann, 50; MarroccoJ, 31; WolfSq, 19.
3	3	Fortune	2^0	B	—		Textless except for *incipit*. Facs. ApelN, 375.
4	3v-4	Un bel sparver gentil	2^2	Ma	M. Ja(copo)	*FP* f. 73v-74; *PR* f. 4 (an.); *Sq* f. 9v-10	Facs. WolfS, pl. 77-78 (*Sq*). Edn. MarroccoJ, 108; WolfG II-III, no. 40; WolfSq, 21.
5	3v-4	Amis, tout (dous vis)	3^0	R	De mulino	*Iv* 3 (15 voc.); *Pr* 20 (2^1 voc.); *Str* 33 (with two versions of the Cantus, both employing coloration) and 134; *Trem* 18	Textless except for *incipit*. Soll, no. 32. Edn. Kammerer, 145; Borren, 101.
6	4v-5	Non al su amante	2^2	Ma	M. Jaco(po)	*FP* f. 71; *PR* f. 3v (an.); *Sq* f. 10v-11; *Fa* no. 25 (2 voc. tab., an.)	Text by Petrarch. Soll, no. 48. Facs. Osthoff (*PR*). Edn. HAM, no. 49; MaroccoJ, 69; Osthoff; VanM, OL 1; WolfSq, 23.
7	4v-5	Non creder, donna, che nessuna	2^2	itB	Francesco delgli orghany	*FP* f. 2v; *Sq* f. 136v	Text by Sacchetti (c. 1370). Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 75; PirrottaS, no. IX; WolfSq, 232.
8	5v-6	O cieco mondo	2^2	Ma	M. Jaco(po)	*FP* f. 65; *PadA* no. 26 (fragm., an.); *PadC*, no. 1 (an.); *PR* f. 5v (an.); *Sq* f. 11v-12; *Fa* no. 21 (2 voc. tab., an.)	Facs. MGG III, pl. 52 (*Fa*); MarroccoJ, pl. 6 (*PadC*). Edn. MarroccoJ, 71; WolfSq, 25.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
9	5v-6	Piacesse a dio	2^1	itB	Frate Guiglielmo di Francia	*Sq* f. 173v (Egidius and Guilielmus)	Facs. Gandolfi, pl. XVII (*Sq*). Edn. WolfSq, 319.
10	6v-7	Posando sour un acqua	2^2	Ma	M. Jaco(po)	*FP* f. 65v; *PR* f. 9 (an.); *Sq* f. 10v-11	Edn. MarroccoJ, 84; WolfH 321; WolfSq, 24.
11	6v-7	Esperanse qui en mon cuer	3^0	R	—	*Pr* 2 (2^0 voc.); *Str* 117	Edn. Kammerer, 117.
12	7v-8	Nel bel çardino	2^2	Ma	M. Jaco(po)	*FP* f. 63v; *PR* f. 5 (an.); *Sq* f. 9v-10; *FC* (Cantus only, an.)	Facs. WolfS, pl. 77-78 (*Sq*). Edn. MarroccoJ, 63; WolfSq, 22.
13	7v-8	S'andra sança merçe	2^2	itB	Francesco (Landini)	*FP* f. 14; *Sq* f. 167	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 89; WolfSq, 304.
14	8v-9	O dolci apress'un bel perlaro	2^2	Ma	M. Jaco(po)	*FP* f. 62v; *Lo* 1 and 3 (an.); *PR* f. 7v (an.); *Sq* f. 14v-15; *FC* (T only, an.)	The name ANNA appears in the text. Facs. MarroccoJ, pl. 2 (*Pit*). Edn. MarroccoJ, 74; WolfSq, 31.
15	8v-9	Mort, pourquoy	2^0	V	—		Textless except for incipit.
16	9v-10	Prima virtute chonstringr la lingua	2^2	Ma	M. Jaco(po)	*FP* f. 66v-67; *Lo* 14; *PR* f. 6 an.); *Sq* f. 12v-13	Facs. MarroccoJ, pl. 3 (*PR*). Edn. MarroccoJ, 87; WolfSq, 29.
17	10	Tuta sole[tta] si gia	2^1	itB	Frate Guilielmo	*FP* f. 6v-7 (an.); *Sq* f. 174 (Egidius and Guilielmus de Francia)	Edn. WolfSq, 320.
18	10v	Di novo e giunt'um chavalier errante	2^2	Ma	M. Jaco(po)	*FP* f. 68; *Lo* 2; *PR* f. 10v (an.); *Sq* f. 11v-12	Facs. Reese, pl. VIII (*Sq*). Edn. MarroccoJ, 36; Reese, 363; WolfSq, 26.
19	11	Quiconques veut d'amors	3^0	R	—	*CaB* f. 8 (4^1 voc.); *Iv* 10 (3^1 voc.); *FP* f. 79v-80 (3^1 voc.); *Trem* 87	Facs. CoussH, pl. XXXVI (*CaB*). Edn. Günther, no. 7.
20	11v-12	Nonn an Narcisso	2^2	Ma	Francesco (Landini)	*FP* f. 46v-47; *Sq* f. 125	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 4; WolfSq, 205.
21	12	Hé, dieus d'amours	2^0	R	—		Textless except for incipit.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
22	12v-13	Si dolce non sono	3^3	Ma	Francesco (Landini)	*FP* f. 44v-45; *Lo* 10 (3^2 voc.); *Sq* f. 123v-124	Facs. EllinwoodL, pl. IV (*FP*). Edn. EllinwoodF, no. 2; EllinwoodL, no. 12; Gleason, 113; HAM, no. 54; WolfSq, 201.
23	13v-14	Mostromm(i) amor	2^2	Ma	Francesco (Landini)	*Sq* f. 124v	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 3; WolfSq, 204.
23a	13v-14	(Passerose, flours exellente)	3^0	R	—	Identical with 34	In spite of its completeness, the word "vacat" appears in the margin of both f. 13v and f. 14.
24	14v-15	Lucida pecorella	2^2	Ma	Don Donato da Cascia	*FP* f. 83v-84; *Sq* f. 73v-74	Edn. WolfSq, 102.
25	15v-16	Un bel girfalco	2^2	Ma	Don Donato	*Sq* f. 71v-72	Text by Soldanieri. Facs. Gandolfi, pl. XII (*Sq*). Edn. WolfG II-III, no. 47; WolfSq, 99.
26	16v-17	Seguendo'l canto d'un uccel	2^2	Ma	Don Donato	*FP* f. 81v-82; *Sq* f. 72v-73	Edn. WolfSq, 100.
27	16v-17	Hunbles regars	3^0	R	—		Textless except for incipit.
28	17v-18	I' fu gia usignolo	2^2	Ma	Don Donato	*Sq* f. 73v-74	Text by Soldanieri. Edn. WolfSq, 103.
29	18v-19	Agnel son bianco	2^2	Ma	Maestro Giovanni da Firençe	*FP* f. 48v-49; *PR* f. 12v (an.); *Sq* f. 1	Soll, no. 25. Facs. Gandolfi, pl. VII (*Sq*). Edn. PirrottaM, no. 2; WolfF, 633; WolfSq, 3.
30	18v-19	Dame playsans	2^0	R	—		Textless except for incipit.
31	19v-20	La bella bella stella	2^2	Ma	M. Giovanni	*FP* f. 47v-48 (2^1 voc.); *RO* no. 2 (fragm. T only, an.); *Sq* f. 1v-2; *Rs* f. 23v-24 (Cantus only); *FC* (Cantus only, an.)	Facs. Bannister II, pl. 130b (*RO*). Edn. PirrottaM, no. 8; WolfSq, 4.
32	20	Bene puis siderer	2^0	V	—		
33	20v-21	Togliendo l'un all' altra	2^2	Ma	M. Giovanni	*FP* f. 55v-56; *Sq* f. 5	Textless except for incipit. Edn. PirrottaM, no. 17; WolfSq, 7.
34	21	Passerose, flours exellente	3^0	R	—		Textless except for incipit. Edn. WolfG II-III, no. 28.
35	21v-22	O perlaro gentil	2^2	Ma	M. Johanni	*FP* f. 57v-58; *Lo* 4 (an.); *Sq* f. 4v-5	Facs. Vecchi 1, XI (*FP*). Edn. PirottaM, no. 11; WolfSq, 11.
36	22v-23	Nel chiaro fiume	2^2	Ma	Ser Lorenço da Firençe	*FP* f. 77v-78; *Sq* f. 48v-49	Edn. WolfSq, 83.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
37	22v-23	Kere dame chi m'otry	3^0	V	—		Textless except for incipit.
38	23v-24	Vidi nell' ombra d'una bella	2^2	Ma	Ser Lorenço	*FP* f. 78v-79; *Lo* 46; *RO* 4 (fragm. of Cantus only, an.); *Sq* f. 47v-48	Edn. WolfN II, 70; WolfSq, 79.
39	24v-25	Sovra la riva d'un corrente	2^2	Ma	Ser Lorenço	*FP* f. 75v-76; *Sq* f. 48v-49	Text by Sacchetti (c. 1354). Edn. PirrottaS, no. 1; WolfSq, 81.
40	25v-26	Tosto chell' alba	3^2	Ca	Ser Gherardello	*FP* f. 86; *Lo* 31; *Sq* f. 25v	Facs. (all *Sq*) Gandolfi, pl. IX; Levi, 274; MarroccoC, pl. 1. Edn. CorteSc, no. 26; Gleason, 101; HAM, no. 52; Levi, 274; MarroccoC, no. 19; RiemannH I, 2, 324; PirrottaM, no. 33; WolfF, 626; WolfSq, 47.
41	25v-26	Passerose de biauté	3^0	R	—	*PR* f. 63v-66 (3^1 voc.); *Str* 26	Textless except for incipit.
42	26v-27	Sotto verdi fraschetti	2^2	Ma	Ser Gherardello	*FP* f. 88v-89; *Lo* 62; *Sq* f. 26v	Facs. Parrish, pl. LVIII-LIX (*Pit*). Edn. PirrottaM, no. 31; WolfSq, 50.
43	27	S'Amours me het	2^0	V	—		Textless except for incipit.
44	27v-28	Intrando ad abita[r]	2^2	Ma	Ser Gherardello	*FP* f. 85v; *Sq* f. 31	Facs. MarroccoM (*FP*). Edn. PirrottaM, no. 26; WolfSq, 61.
45	27v-28	Sans yoie [avoir ne puet]	2^0	B	—	*Ch* 23	Textless except for incipit.
46	28v-29	Nel meco gia del mar	2^2	Ma	Ser Nicholo del Proposto	*FP* f. 86v-87; *Sq* f. 81v-82	Text by Sacchetti (1354-1362). Facs. Gandolfi, pl. XIII (*Sq*). Edn. PirrottaS, no. IV; WolfSq, 119.
47	29	Dio mi guardi di peggio	2^2	itB	(Ser Nicholo)	*Sq* f. 87v-88	Edn. WolfSq, 136.
48	29v-30v	Passando con pensier	3^2	Ca	Ser Nicolo	*Sq* f. 85v-86	Text by Sacchetti (1362-1364). Edn. MarroccoC, no. 14; PirrottaS, no. V; WolfSing, no. 7; WolfSq, 129.
49	30v	Amor, merçe	2^1	itB	—		
50	31	Ciascun faccia per se	2^2	itB	Ser Nicholo	*Lo* 98; *Sq* f. 90	Text by Soldanieri. Edn. WolfSq, 141.
51	31v-32	Ita se n'era star	2^2	Ma	L'abate Vincençio da Imola	*Lo* 61 (2^1 voc.); *Sq* f. 35v	Facs. Gandolfi, pl. X (*Sq*). Edn. WolfG II-III, no. 50; WolfSq, 63.
52	31v-32	Amours par qui	3^0	R	—		Textless except for incipit. Edn. WolfG II-III, no. 29.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
53	32v-33	Nell' acqua chiara	3^2	Ca	L'abate Vincençio	*Lo* 56; *Sq* f. 36v-37	Facs. MarroccoC, pl. III (*Lo*). Edn. MarroccoC, no. 12; WolfSq, 67.
54	33v-34	De Narcisus	3^0	B	(Magister Franciscus)	*Ch* 16 (3^1 voc.); *PR* 173 (3^1 voc., an.); *Aut* f. 160v (Cantus only, an.); *Trem* 48 (an.)	Facs. MGG IV, 634 (*PR*). Edn. Apel-L, no. 55.
55	34v-35	Non piu'nfelici	2^2	Ma	Don Paolo tenorista da Firençe		
56	35v-36	Se non ti piacque	2^2	Ma	Don Paolo	*Lo* 70	
57	36v-37	Tra verdi frondi	2^2	Ma	Don Paolo	Identical with 67a	
58	37v-38	Una fera gentil	2^2	Ma	D(on) P(aolo)		Text after a sonnet by M. Frescobaldi.
59	38v-39	Un pellegrin uccel	2^2	Ma	Don Pa(olo)		
60	39v-40	Per un verde boschetto	3^3	itB	Frater Bartholomeus	*FP* f. 66 (2^2 voc. a 5th lower); *Lo* 114; *Luc* f. 2bv (2^2 voc.); *PR* f. 23v (an.); *Sq* f. 120v	Soll, no. 25. Facs. Parrish, pl. LV (*PR*). Edn. WolfSq, 194.
61	40v-41	La fiera testa	2^2	Ma	Schappuccia Frate Bartolino	*Sq* f. 104v-105	Macaronic text, possibly by Petrarch and certainly for the Visconti. Edn. WolfG II-III, no. 44; WolfSq, 164.
62	41v-42	La douce çere	2^2	Ma	Frate Bartolino	*FP* f. 108v-109 (3^1 voc.); *Lo* 17 (3^1 voc.); *Luc* f. 1a (XX) (3^2 voc., Cantus missing); *PR* f. 13v-14 (3^2 voc., an.); *Sq* f. 101v-102 (3^3 voc.); *Fa* no. 20 (2 voc. tab., an.)	Soll, no. 25. Facs. Gandolfi, pl. XIV (*Sq*). Edn. WolfG II-III, no. 45; WolfSq, 159.
63	42v	Io son un pellegrin	2^2	itB	—	*FP* f. 47v-48; *Lo* 29; *PR* f. 27v-28	Soll, no. 25? Facs. Parrish, pl. LIV (*Pit*). Edn. Bartha, 24c; Einstein, no. 11; HAM, no. 51.
64	43	Se Çefirus Se Iuppiter	3^0	B	(Grimace)	*Ch* 15 (3^{1+1} voc.)	

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
65	43v-44	Oselletto selvagio	3^2	Ca	M. Jacopo	*FP* f. 72v-73; *PadC* (fragm.); *PR* f. 8v-9 (an.); *Sq* f. 13v	Madrigal set as a Caccia. Facs. MarroccoC, pl. V (*Pit*). Edn. MarroccoC, no. 20; MarroccoJ, 111; WolfG II-III, no. 42; WolfSq, 27.
66	44v-45	Non dispregiar virtu	2^2	Ma	S. Nicholo	*Lo* 60; *Sq* f. 87	Text by Steffano di Cino Merciaio. Edn. WolfG II-III, no. 54; WolfSq, 134.
67	45v-46	Faccia chi de'	3^3	Ca	Don Donato	*Sq* f. 75v-76	Madrigal set as a Caccia. Edn. WolfSq, 108.
67a	46v-47	(Tra verdi frondi)	2^2	Ma	(Don Paolo)	Identical with 57	Textless and with the word "vacat" in the margin.
68	47v-48	Inperial sedendo	2^2	Ma	(Bartolino)	*Luc* f. 19av-21a (3^2 voc., an.); *Mod* 56 (attrib. to Dactalus de Padua); *PR* f. 22v-23 and f. 13 (Cantus only) (both anonymous); *Sq* f. 109v-110; *Fa* no. 23 (2 voc. tab., an.)	On the Carrara family of Padua. Soll. no. 25. Edn. WolfSq, 174.
69	48v-49	Una smaniosa insensata vecchia	2^2	Ma	—		
70	49v-50	Donna, se raçi de be-, de begli ochi	2^2	itB	Frate Andrea	*Sq* f. 185	Edn. WolfSq, 338.
71	50v	Doglia continua per la suo partita	2^2	itB	Pa(ulus)	*Lw* 3 (an.)	
72	51	Lasso! grev'e'l partir	2^2	itB	P(aul)us		Edn. WolfN II, 76.
73	51v-52	S'amor in cor gentil a signoria	3^2	itB	P(aul)us	*Lw* 1 (end of Cantus and complete T, 2^2 voc., an.)	

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
74	52v-53	Con lagrime bagnandome	2^2	itB	(Ciconia)	*Luc* f. 5b (T only); *PC* 69 (T only, an.); *Loch* f. 86-87 (2 voc. tab. dated 1455, an.); *Bux* 38, 137, 138, 139 (3 voc. tab., all an. except 38, which is by M. c.c. (Magister Conrad Caecus = Conrad Paumann))	Soll, no. 35. Facs. Ameln, 86 (*Loch*); BuxOrg, no. 38, 137, 138, 139 (*Bux*).
75	54v-55	Era Venus	2^2	Ma	P(aul)us		
76	55v-56	Nell' ora c'a segar	2^2	Ma	P(aul)us		
77	56v-57	Godi, Firençe poi	3^3	Ma	P(aul)us		Edn. WolfG II-III, no. 61.
78	57v-58	Ventilla con tumulto	2^2	Ma	P(aul)us		
79	58v-59	Fra duri scogli	2^2	Ma	P(aul)us		
80	59v-60	Corse per l'onde	2^2	Ma	P(aul)us		Edn. WolfF, 644.
81	60v	Se tu ~di male in peggio	2^2	itB	Gian Toscan		
82	61	Ama, donna, chi tt'ama	2^2	itB	Francesco (Landini)	*FP* f. 8v; *PR* f. 26v-27 (an.); *Sq* f. 164v	Soll, no. 48. Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 18; Husmann, 47; WolfSq, 298.
83	61v-62	Nonn ara ma pieta	3^2	itB	Francesco (Landini)	*FP* f. 30v (3^1 voc.); *Lo* 26 (3^1 voc., an.); *PR* f. 52 (3^1 voc., an.); *Sq* f. 134; *Fa* no. 29 (2 voc. tab., an.)	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 135; WolfSq, 225; FischerV, no. 1 (opening of *Fa*).
84	62	Adiu, adiu, dous dame yolie	3^1	V	Francesco (Landini)	*Lo* 39 (2^1 voc.); *Sq* f. 164v	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 101; WolfSq, 298.
85	62v-63	Per seguir la sperança che m'ancide	3^3	itB	Francesco (Landini)	*FP* f. 21v; *PR* f. 48 (an.); *Sq* f. 166	Edn. EllinwoodF, no. 6; EllinwoodL, no. 142; WolfSq, 302.
86	62v-63	Dona, 'l tuo partimento	3^1	itB	Francesco (Landini)	*FP* f. 5v-6 (2^2 voc.); *Sq* f. 149v	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 116; WolfSq, 268.
87	63v-64	Caro signor, palesa la tuo	3^2	itB	Francesco (Landini)	*FP* f. 25v (3^1 voc.); *Sq* f. 163v	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 107; WolfSq, 295.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
88	64	Angelica bilta, venut'e in terra	2^2	itB	Francesco (Landini)	*Sq* f. 123v-124	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 20; Gleason, 103; Schering, no. 23; WolfN I, 108; WolfSq, 204.
89	64v-65	Perche di novo sdegno Vendetta far dovrey Perche tuo serve	3^1+1+1	itB	Francesco (Landini)	*FP* f. 30; *Lo* 30; *Sq* f. 164	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 140; WolfSq, 297.
90	65v-66	L'alma mie piange	3^3	itB	Francesco (Landini)	*FP* f. 31v-32; *Lo* 106 (3^2 voc.); *Sq* f. 131	Soll, no. 34. Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 127; WolfSq, 219.
91	66v-67	Gentil aspecto in cui la mente	3^2	itB	Francesco (Landini)	*FP* f. 27v-28; *Pist* no. 7 (fragm. and Ct. missing, an.); *PR* f. 52v (an.); *Sq* f. 133; (all concordances 3^1 voc. except *Pist*)	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 120; WolfSq, 223.
92	67v-68	Sie maladetta l'or e'l di	2^2	itB	Francesco (Landini)	*FP* f. 6v; *PR* f. 28 (an.); *Sq* f. 170v	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 94; WolfSq, 314.
93	67v-68	Gran piant' agli ochi	3^2	itB	Francesco (Landini)	*FP* f. 26; *Lo* 38; *PadA* no. 17; *PR* f. 34v (an.); *Sq* f. 133v.	Soll, no. 34. Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 123; Bartha, 24a; Gleason, 104; LudwigK, 459; WolfSq, 224.
94	68v-69	Gia perch'i penso	2^2	itB	Francesco (Landini)	*FP* f. 1v; *Lo* 82 (an.); *PR* f. 48v (an.); *Sq* f. 169	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 54; WolfSq, 310.
95	68v-69	Gli ochi che'n prima	2^2	itB	Francesco (Landini)	*FP* f. 7; *Sq* f. 148v	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 57; WolfSq, 261.
96	69v	Chi pregio vuol in virtu	2^2	itB	Francesco (Landini)	*FP* f. 11v; *PR* f. 51 (an.); *Sq* f. 157	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 25; WolfSq, 282.
97	70	Va pure, amore, colle	2^2	itB	Francesco (Landini)	*FP* f. 9; *Luc* f. 5a (XXXXVII); *Sq* f. 171	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 98; WolfSq, 315.
98	70v	Questa fanciull' amor	3^2	itB	Francesco (Landini)	*FP* f. 22v (3^1 voc.); *Sq* f. 138; *PR* f. 85 (2 voc. tab., an.); *Em* 110 (contrafactum, an.); *Str* 27 (3^0 voc., an.)	*Em* has a Kyrie text, *Str* a text incipit *Est illa*. Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 147; Reese, 368; WolfN II, 218; WolfSq, 234.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
99	71	Non c'e rimasa fe	3^2	itB	P(aul)us		
100	71v-72	La vaga luce che fa	3^2	itB	P(aul)us	*Luc.* f. 17bv-16b (2^2 voc., an.)	
101	72v-73	Ma' ri' avere	3^1	itB	P(aul)us		
102	73v-74	Amor, tu solo 'l say	3^2	itB	P(aul)us		
103	74v-75	Lena virtu et sperança	3^2	itB	P(aul)us	*Lw* 4 (2^2 voc., an.)	Facs. ApelN, 409 (*Pit*).
104	75v-76	Chi vuol veder l'angelica belleça	3^1	itB	P(aul)us		
105	76v-77	Che l'agg' i' fatto	3^2	itB	P(aul)us		
106	77v-78	Vago et benigno amor	3^2	itB	P(aul)us		
107	78v-79	Se per virtu amor	3^1	itB	P(aul)us		
108	78v-79	Amor mi stringe	2^1	itB	—		Doubtless by Paolo, judging by style and position in ms. Room has been left for a Ct, which is however missing.
109	79v-80	Amor da po'che tutti	3^2	itB	P(aul)us		
110	80v	Sofrir\m'estuet et plus	3^1	itB	P(aul)us		Ripresa and Volta have a French, the Piedi an Italian text.
111	81	Donna, per che mi veggi	2^2	itB	Don Paolo		
112	81v-82	Amor, de, dimmi se sperar merçe	3^2	itB	Don Paolo	*Lw* 5 (Cantus only, an.)	
113	82	Uon cosa di veder	3^1	itB	Don Paolo		Edn. WolfN II, 219.
114	82v	Or sie che puo com a vo	2^2	itB	Don Paolo		
115	83	Poc' anno di mirar gli ochi	2^2	itB	Don Paolo		
116	83v	Perche vendetta	2^2	itB	Don Paolo		
117	84	Benche partito da tte	3^1	itB	Don Paolo		
118	84v-85	De, dolce morte, cava mi da pena	3^1	itB	—		Facs. ApelN, 399.
119	84v-85	El gran disio	2^1	itB	Francesco (Landini)	*FP* f. 31; *Lo* 104 (an.); *Sq* f. 147 (all concordances 3^1 voc.)	Text by Malatesta. Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 118; WolfSq. 257.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
120	85v-86	Donna, s'i t'o fallito	2^2	itB	(Francesco Landini)	*FP* f. 1; *Lo* 27; *Luc* f. 5av (XXXXVIIv) (T missing); *PadA* no. 32; *PR* f. 34 (an.); *Sq* f. 158	Soll, no. 48. Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 45; WolfSq. 284.
121	85v-86	Donne et fanciulle	2^2	itB	—		
122	86v	Fortuna ria, Amor e crudel donna	2^2	itB	(Francesco Landini)	*FP* f. 10; *Pist* 2 (fragm., 2^1 voc., an.); *Sq* f. 147v	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 51; WolfSq. 258.
123	86v-87	O fanciulla giulia	3^1	itB	(Francesco Landini)	*FP* f. 34v; *Sq* f. 159v (3^2 voc.)	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 137; WolfSq. 287.
124	87v-88	Cosa nulla piu fe	3^3	itB	Francesco (Landini)	*FP* f. 35v (3^2 voc.); *Sq* f. 132	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 112; WolfSq. 221.
125	88v-89	Posto che dall' aspetto	3^2	itB	Francesco (Landini)	*FP* f. 35; *Sq* f. 154	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 144; WolfSq. 275.
126	88v-89	Per servar umilta	2^2	itB	Francesco (Landini)	*FP* f. 3; *Sq* f. 168v	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 84; WolfSq. 309.
127	89v-90	S'i ti so stato	2^2	itB	(Francesco Landini)	*FP* f. 8; *Luc* f. 19bv; *PadA* 18 (an.); *PR* f. 48v-49 (an.); *Sq* f. 142v	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 95; WolfSq. 246.
128	89v-90	De, passa temp' amaro	2^2	itB	—		
129	90v-91	Quanto piu caro fai	3^2	itB	(Francesco Landini)	*FP* f. 26v-27 (3^3 voc.); *Lo* 68 (3^3 voc.); *PR* f. 50 (3^1 voc., an.); *Sq* f. 143v (3^3 voc.)	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 145; WolfSq. 248.
130	91v-92	Se pronto non sara	2^2	itB	Francesco (Landini)	*FP* f. 12v; *Lo* 35 (an.); *Mod* 23; *Sq* f. 170	Facs. ApelN, 391 (*Sq*); Cappelli, 1 (*Mod*). Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 93; RiemannB, no. 5; WolfSq. 313.
131	91v-92	Checc'a tte piaccia	3^1	itB	—		
132	92v-93	Po'che partir convien	3^1	itB	(Francesco Landini)	*FP* f. 23; *PadA* 22; *Pr* 8 (3^0 voc., an.); *Sq* f. 165v	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 143; WolfSq. 300.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
133	93v-94	Lasso! di donna vana	3^1	itB	Franciscus (Landini)	*FP* f. 28v; *Sq* f. 132v; *Str* 104 (fragm., contrafactum)	Text in *Str* is "Dilectus meus misit". Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 129; WolfSq, 222.
134	94v-95	D'amor mi biasmo chi	2^2	itB	(Francesco Landini)	*FP* f. 3v; *Sq* f. 145v	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 28; WolfSq, 253.
135	94v-95	Mort'e la fe e lo sperar	2^2	itB	—		
136	95v-96	Non per fallir di me	2^2	itB	Franciscus (Landini)	*FP* f. 4v; *Sq* f. 168	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 76; WolfSq, 306.
137	96v-97	Facto m'a sdegno	3^2	itB	—		
138	96v-97	El capo biondo	2^1	itB	Arrigo	*PR* f. 96v-97 (attrib. to Henrici, 2^2 voc.)	Edn. WolfG II-III, no. 57.
139	97v-98	Se partir mi convien	3^2	itB	—		
140	98v	Sie mille volte benedecta	2^2	itB	—		
141	99	Cogli ochi assai ne miro	2^2	itB	(Francesco Landini)	*FP* f. 49v-50 (2^1 voc.); *Sq* f. 157v	Facs. ApelN, 387 (*FP*). Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 27; WolfSq, 282.
142	99v	Quel sol che raggia	3^1	itB	F(rancesco Landini)	*FP* f. 22; *Sq* f. 158v	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 146; WolfSq, 236.
143	100	La dolce vista che dagli ochi	2^2	itB	F(rancesco Landini)	*Lo* 112 (2^0 voc.); *PR* f. 47v (3^2 voc., an.); *Sq* f. 150 (2^1 voc.)	Text by Soldanieri. Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 126; WolfSq, 265.
144	100v-101	Che pena e quest' al cor	3^3	itB	(Francesco Landini)	*FP* f. 36v-37 (3^2 voc.); *Pz* f. 19v-20 (2^2 voc., an.); *Sq* f. 130v; *Fa* no. 27 (2 voc. tab., an.)	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 109; Husmann, 49; WolfSq, 218.
145	101v-102	Donna, i prego amor	3^2	itB	F(rancesco Landini)	*FP* f. 33; *Lo* 71 (an.); *Sq* f. 145 (all concordances 3^1 voc.)	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 115; WolfSq, 352.
146	101v-102	Achurr' uomo	2^2	itB	—		
147	102v	O me! Si oglio	2^2	itB	—		
148	103	Oy me! 'l core non piu ardore	2^2	itB	(Francesco Landini)	*Sq* f. 141v	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 80; WolfSq, 244.
149	103v	Vita non e piu miser	2^2	itB	F(rancesco Landini)	*FP* f. 10v; *PR* f. 49 (an.); *Sq* f. 167	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 100; WolfSq, 305.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
150	104	Che fai? che pensi? che cercando	2^2	itB	F(rancesco Landini)	*Sq* f. 157v-158	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 23; WolfSq, 283.
151	104v-105	Selvaggia fera, di Diana serva	3^1	itB	(Francesco Landini)	*Sq* f. 157	Facs. EllinwoodL, pl. VI (*Pit*). Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 148; WolfSq, 232.
152	104v-105	Donna che d'amor senta	2^2	itB	(Francesco Landini)	*PR* f. 36v (an.); *Sq* f. 150	Soll(, no. 35? Facs. EllinwoodL, pl VI (*Pit*). Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 38; WolfSq, 265.
153	105v-106	Se gia seguir altra	3^1	itB	—		
154	106v	S'i fossi certo del dover	3^1	itB	(Francesco Landini)	*FP* f. 29; *Sq* f. 138	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 149; WolfN II, 217; WolfSq, 235.
155	107	La mala lingua d'ogni mal	2^2	itB	F(rancesco Landini)	*Sq* f. 140v	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 66; WolfSq, 240.
156	107v-108	Conviensi a fede fe	3^1	itB	F(rancesco Landini)	*FP* f. 32v; *PR* f. 71 (an.); *Sq* f. 152v-153	Facs. EllinwoodL, pl. VII (*PR*). Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 111; WolfSq, 271.
157	108v	Or e ttal l'alma mia	2^2	itB	F(rancesco Landini)	*FP* f. 7v-8 (an.); *Sq* f. 141	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 79; WolfSq, 242.
158	108v-109	Amor in uom gentil	3^1	itB	(Francesco Landini)	*FP* f. 34; *Sq* f. 152	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 105; WolfSq, 270.
159	109v-110	Ma' non s'andra per questa donn' altera	2^2	itB	F(rancesco Landini)	*FP* f. 66v-67; *Sq* f. 141	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 70; WolfG II-III, no. 51; WolfSq, 242.
160	110v-111	De, fa per quella speme	3^2	itB	—		
161	111v	O me! al cor dolente sento pene	3^1	itB	Ser Feo		
162	112	Astio non mori may! Ne puo morir	2^2	itB	—		
163	112v	De, belle donne di virtu	3^1	itB	—		
164	113	Amor c'al tuo subgetto	2^1	itB	(Francesco Landini)	*Sq* f. 140v (3^1 voc.)	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 103; HAM, no. 53; WolfSq, 241.
165	113v-114	Contenplar le gran cose	3^1	itB	F(rancesco Landini)	*FP* f. 82; *Lo* 110; *Sq* f. 153	Facs. MGG VIII, pl. 4 (*Pit*). Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 110; WolfSq, 273.
166	113v-114	I fu tuo serv' amore	2^1	itB	(Francesco Landini)	*FP* f. 53v-54; *Sq* f. 165v	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 58; WolfSq, 301.
167	114v-115	Amar si li alti tuo	3^1	itB	F(rancesco Landini)	*FP* f. 63; *Sq* f. 156v	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 102; HMS, 21; Husmann, 48; WolfSq, 280.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
168	114v-115	Nella partita piansor gli ochi	2^2	itB	(Francesco Landini)	*FP* f. 56; *Sq* f. 139	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 71; WolfSq, 237.
169	115v-116	N'en ciascun mie pensiero	3^2	itB	F(rancesco Landini)	*FP* f. 38v; *Sq* f. 139v	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 133; WolfSq, 238.
170	116v-117	Nessun ponga sperança nella suo giovineça	3^3	itB	F(rancesco Landini)	*FP* f. 40; *Lo* 107 (3^2 voc., an.); *Sq* f. 162v	Facs. ApelN, 393 (*Sq*); EllinwoodL, pl. VIII (*Pit*). Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 134; WolfSq, 294.
171	117v-118	Gia non biasim' amor	3^2	itB	F(rancesco Landini)	*FP* f. 39; *Sq* f. 169v	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 121; WolfSq, 311.
172	117v-118	Merçe per dio perche morto	2^2	itB	—		
173	118v-119	Altro che sospirar non so	3^2	itB	—		
174	119v-120	Gia la sperança in te	3^2	itB	—		
175	120v	De toutes flours	3^0	B	(Machaut)	*Mach*; *FP* f. 99v (3^1 voc.); *Mod* 43 (3^1 voc.); *Str* 168 (4^0 voc.); *Trem* 27; *Fa* no. 8 (2 voc. tab.) (all concordances an. except *Mach*)	Textless except for incipit. Facs. Plamenac, ill. 1 (*Fa*). Edn. MachM I, B 31; Plamenac, 189; Schrade III, 118.
176	121	Loyauté	3^0	isR	(Garinus)	*Ch* 51 (3^1 voc.)	Textless except for incipit. Edn. ApelL, no. 78.
177	121v	Je Fortune	2^0	B	—	*Pr* 1.1; *Str* 69	Textless except for incipit. Edn. Kammerer, 132.
178	121v	Jour a jour la vie	2^0	Rr	—	*Em* 86 (4^0 voc.); *FP* f. 73v-74 (3^0 voc.); *PR* f. 66 (4^1 voc.); *Str* 72 (3^0 voc.); *Trem* 73; *Fa* nos. 2 and 15 (2 voc. tab.); *Tit* f. 3v (3^1 voc.)	*Str* 72 attributed to Machaut. *Em* has contrafactum text "Christus rex pacificus". Ct varies in different sources. Facs. Dez, 99 (*Em*); Plamenac, ill. 2 (*Fa*). Edn. Dez, 99; Günther, no. 1; Plamenac, 190.
179	121v-122	Creature	2^0	R	—		Textless except for incipit.
180	122	En amer la douce vie	3^0	B	(Machaut)	*Mach*; *FP* f. 97 (3^1 voc., an.); *PR* f. 63 (4^1 voc., an.); *Trem* 33 (an.)	Facs. FischerPR, 49 (*PR*). Edn. MachM I, 93; Schrade III, 158.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
181	122v-124	Or sus, vous dormés trop, madame	3^1	V	—	*Iv* 23; *Lo* 108 (3^0 voc.); *PadC* 2 (incomplete); *PR* f. 78v-79; *Str* 127	Soll, no. 25. *Str* has contrafactum text "Ave Stella". Edn. ApelL, no. 70; VanM, OL 3.
182	124	De ce que fol pense	3^0	B	(P. des Molins)	*Ch* 87 (3^1 voc.); *CaB* f. 5v and 10 (4^1 voc., an.); *FP* f. 86v-87 (3^0 voc., an.); *McV* 2 (3^1 voc., an.); *PR* f. 71v (4^1 voc., an.); *Str* 52 (3^0 voc., Wilhelmi de Maschandio); *Trem* 26 (an.); *Fa* no. 11 (2 voc. tab., an.)	*Str* has contrafactum text "Surge, anima". Edn. WolfH I, 354; Droz et Thibault, 21.
183	124v	De petit peu	3^0	B	(Machaut)	*Mach*; *Ch* 14 (3^1 voc., an.); *FP* f. 100 (an.); *Mod* 46 (4^1 voc., an.); *Pr* 32 (2^0 voc., an.); *CaB* f. 15 (4^1 voc., an.); *Trem* 45 (an.)	Edn. WolfG II-III, no. 24; MachM I, B 18; Kammerer, 164; SchradeM III, B 18.
184	125	S'espoir n'estoit qui me done pooir	3^1	R	—		
185	125v-126	Par le grant sens d'Adriane	3^0	B	(Philip of Caserta)	*Ch* 54 (3^1 voc.)	Textless except for incipit. Edn. WolfG II-III, no. 27.
186	126v-127	Je la remiray sans mesure	3^0	V	—	*Mod* 65; *PR* f. 80 (3^1 voc.)	Textless except for incipit.
187	127v-128	Muort' oramai, de, misero, dolente	3^3	itB	Fra(ncesco Landini)	*Sq* f. 129v-130	Edn. EllinwoodL, no. 131; WolfSq, 216.
188	128v-129	In quella parte	3^1	itB	—		
189	128v-129	Benche partir da tte	2^2	itB	Ser Nic(olo)	*Lo* 72; *Sq* f. 92v	Soll, no. 35? Edn. WolfSq, 146.
190	129v-130	Se le n'ara pieta	3^2	itB	—		

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
191	130v-131	Tra speranca e fortuna	3^2	itB	—	*Luc* f. 16b	Facs. PirrottaL I, 133 (*Luc*).
192	131v-133	Et in terra	2^2	O	Ser Gherardelly	*RU*1 4 (an.)	Edn. PirrottaM, no. 22; VanM, 1.
193	132v-133	Je languis d'amere mort	3^0	V	—	*FP* f. 69 (3^1 voc.); *Parma* 7 (Ct only); *Pr* 11 and 12 (2^0 voc.); *PR* f. 70v (4^1 voc., *Tr* by Petrus de Vigiliis); *Str* 106 (3^0 voc.)	Textless except for incipit. Edn. Kammerer, 128.
194	133v-136	Patrem	2^2	O	Bartholy		
195	136v-137	Sanctus	2^2	O	Ser Lorenço		Edn. PirrottaM, no. 1; VanM, 5.
196	137v	Agnus dei	2^2	O	Ser Gherardello	*RU*1 6 (an.)	Edn. VanM, 15.
197	138	Benedicamus domino	3^3	O	P(aul)us		Edn. PirrottaM, no. 21; VanM, 16.
198	138v-139	Girand' un bel falcon	2^2	Ma	—		Facs. ApelN, 379. Edn. VanM, 18; WolfG II-III, no. 48.
190	139v 140	Se 'l mie fallir	3^2	itB	—		

THE CODEX FAENZA, BIBLIOTECA COMUNALE, 117 [*Fa*]

A Facsimile Edition

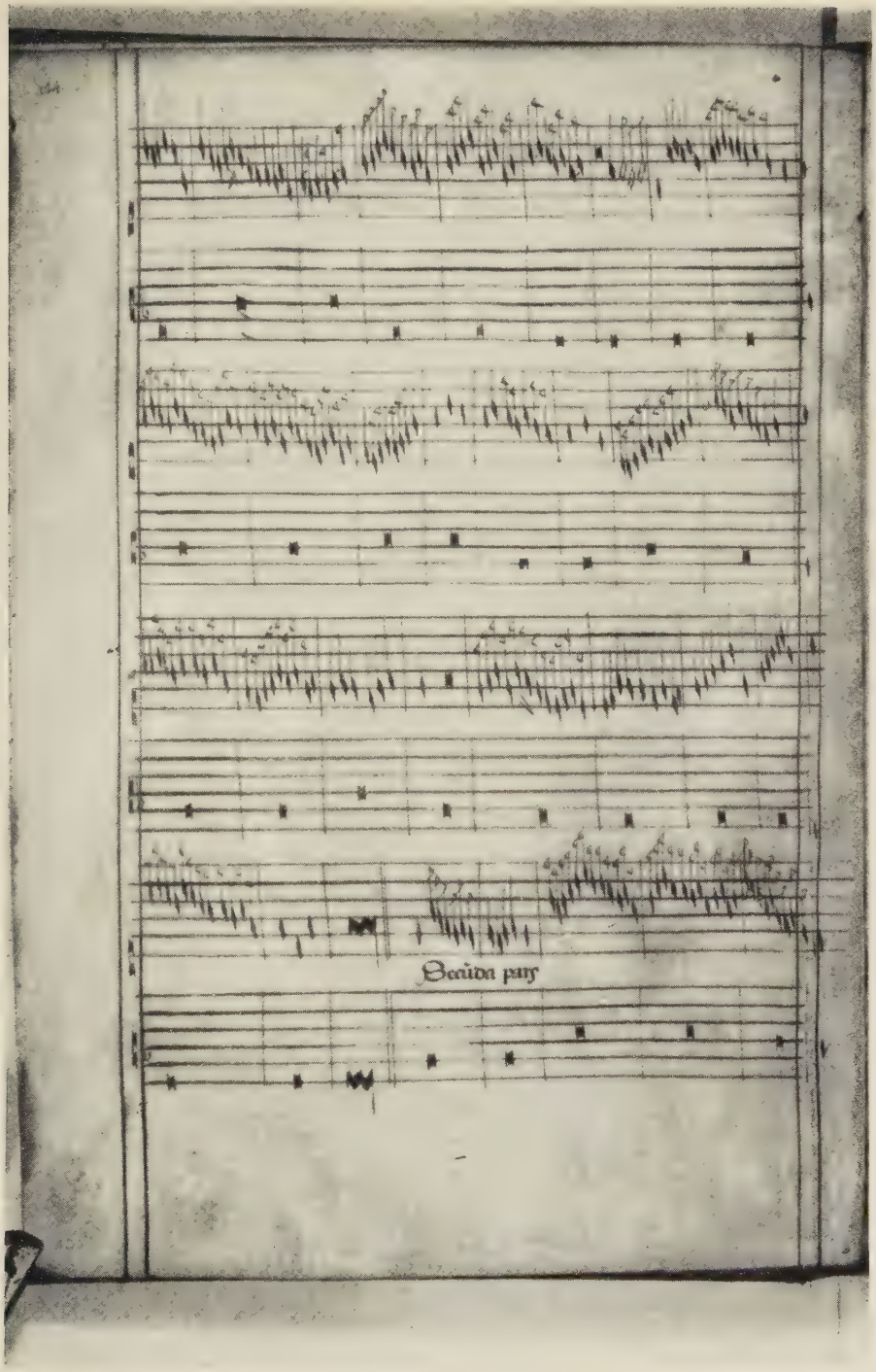
Part II

In this second part of the facsimiles of the Faenza manuscript a correction must be observed. No. 8 in Part I, as fol. 34 = 35v, was an error. It is fol. 56 = 55v, and it is reprinted here in its right place as No. 47bis.

The Editor is pleased to mention here that Prof. Dragan Plamenac is preparing a transcription of the Faenza codex, to be published eventually. The present facsimile edition will undoubtedly arouse interest in the transcription and will at all events usefully complement it.

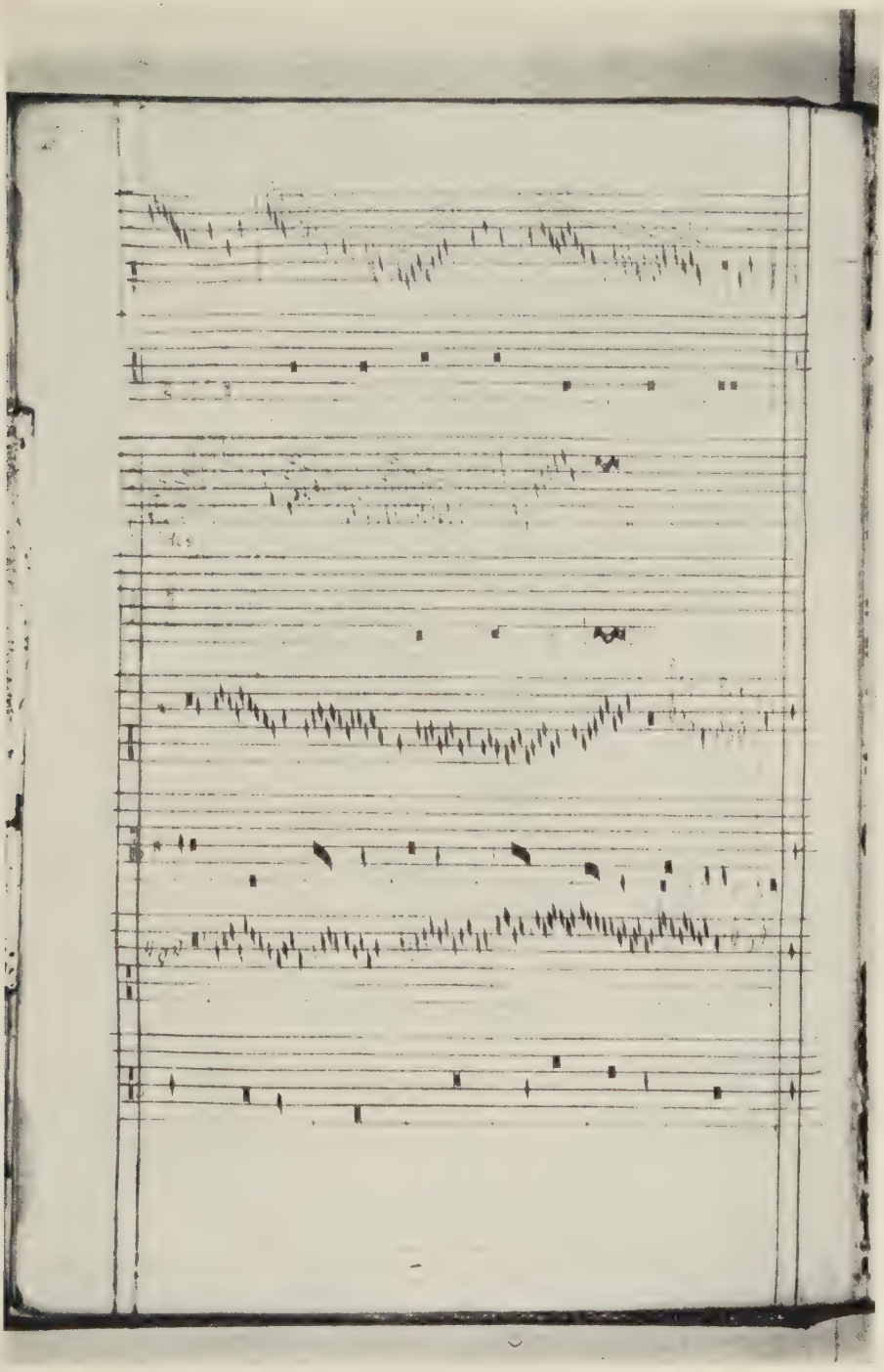
This facsimile edition will be completed in *Musica Disciplina* XV (1961).

A. C.



No. 28, fol. 66 = 45v

No. 29, fol. 47 = 46r



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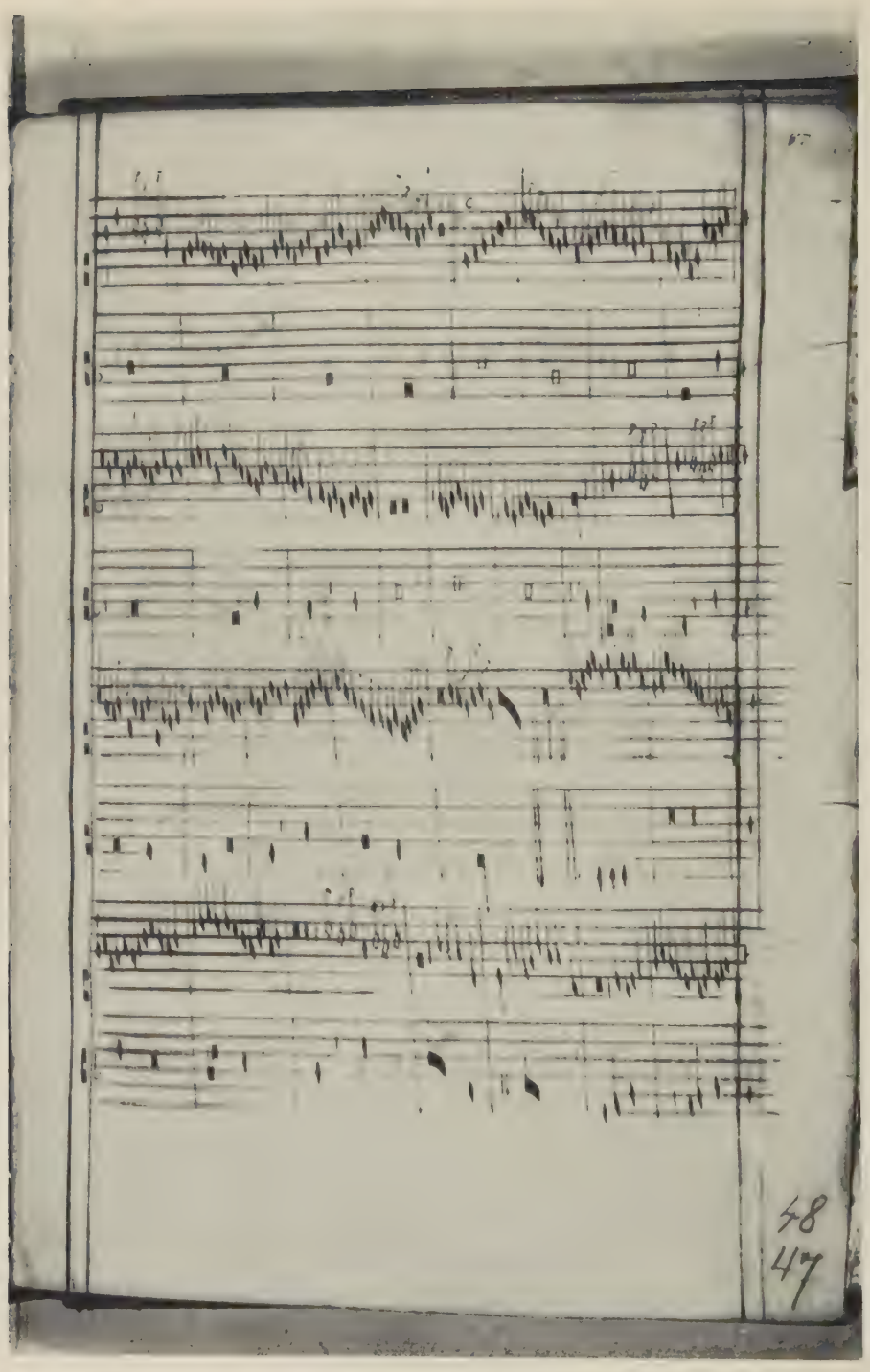

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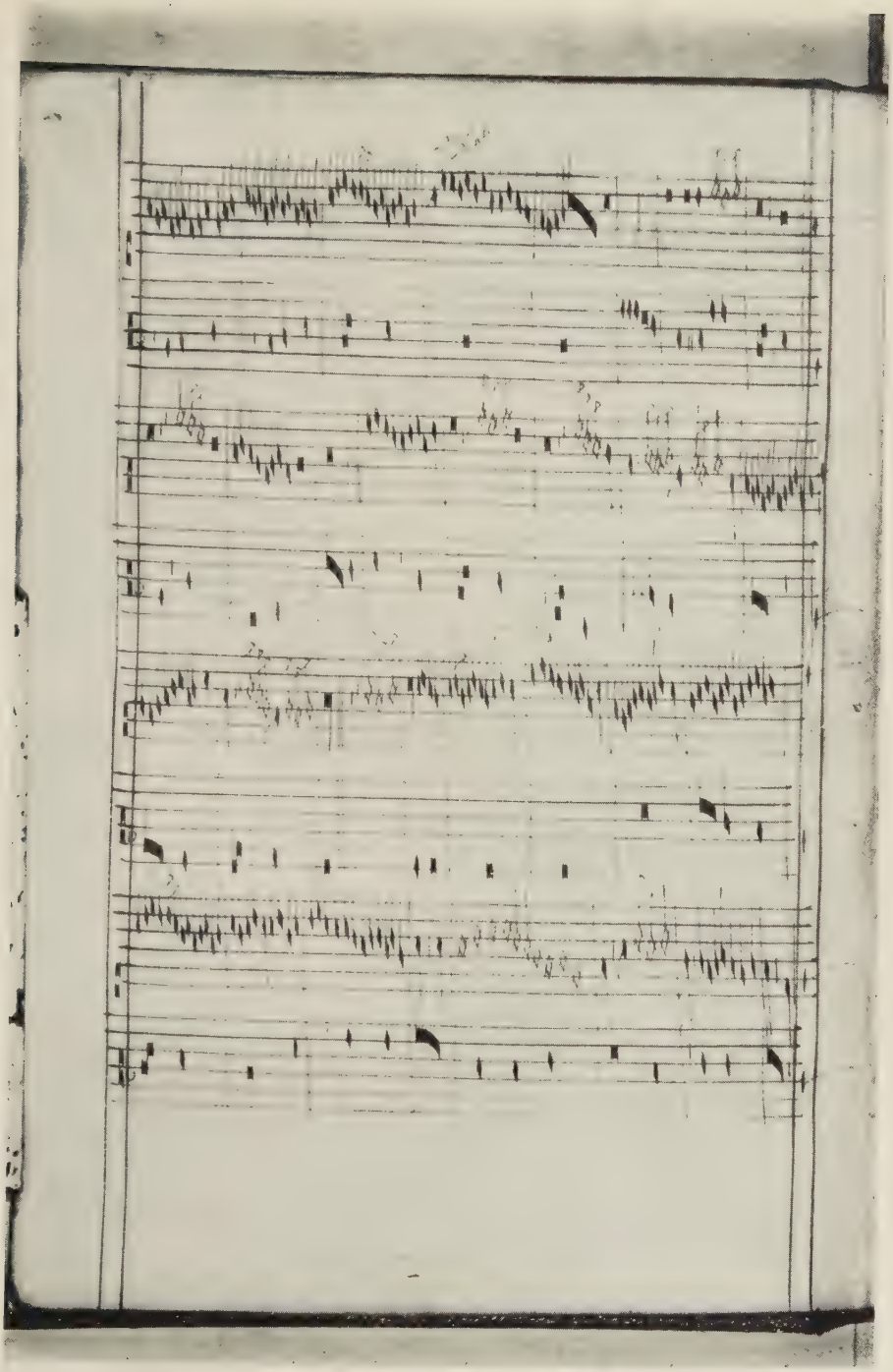

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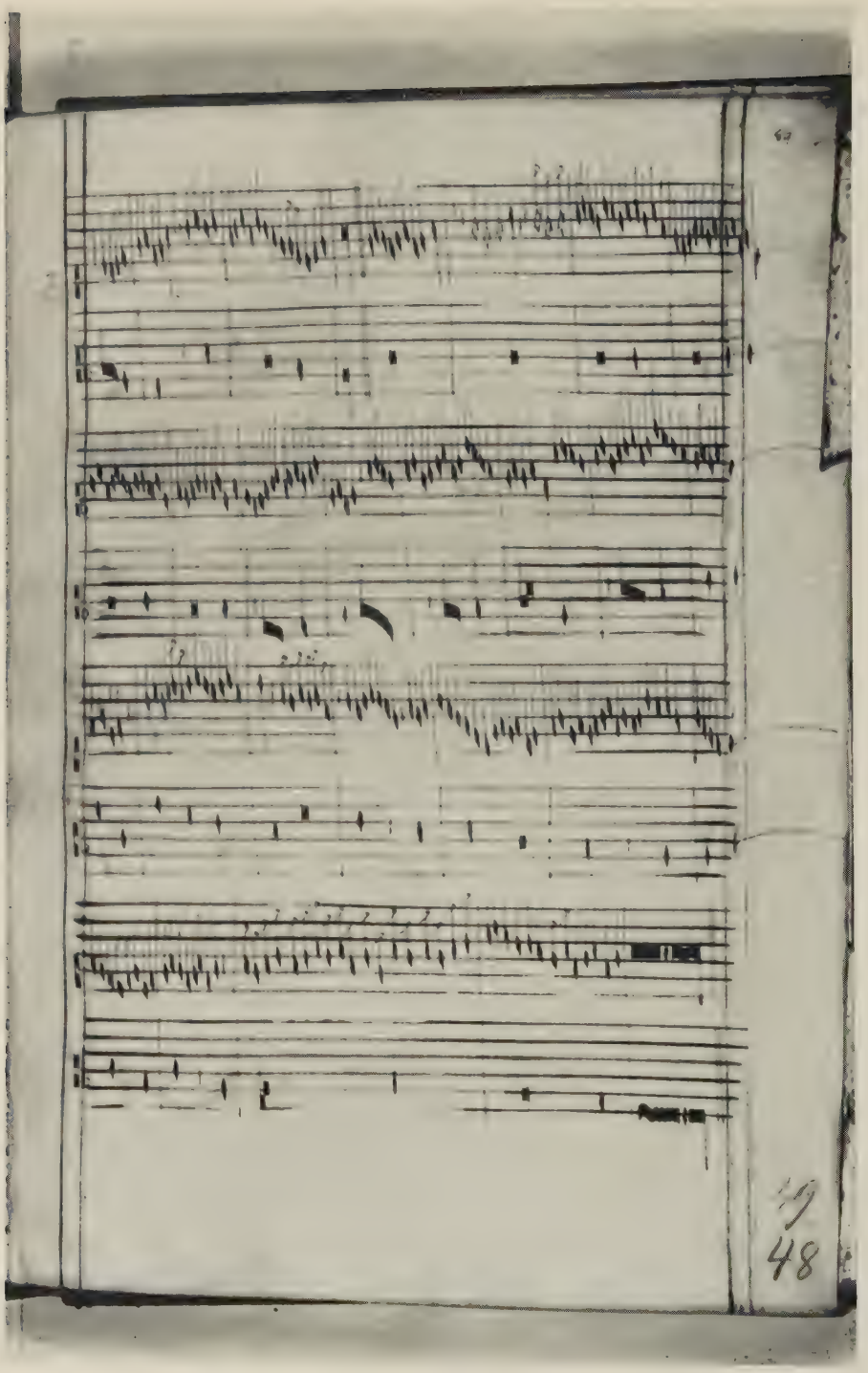

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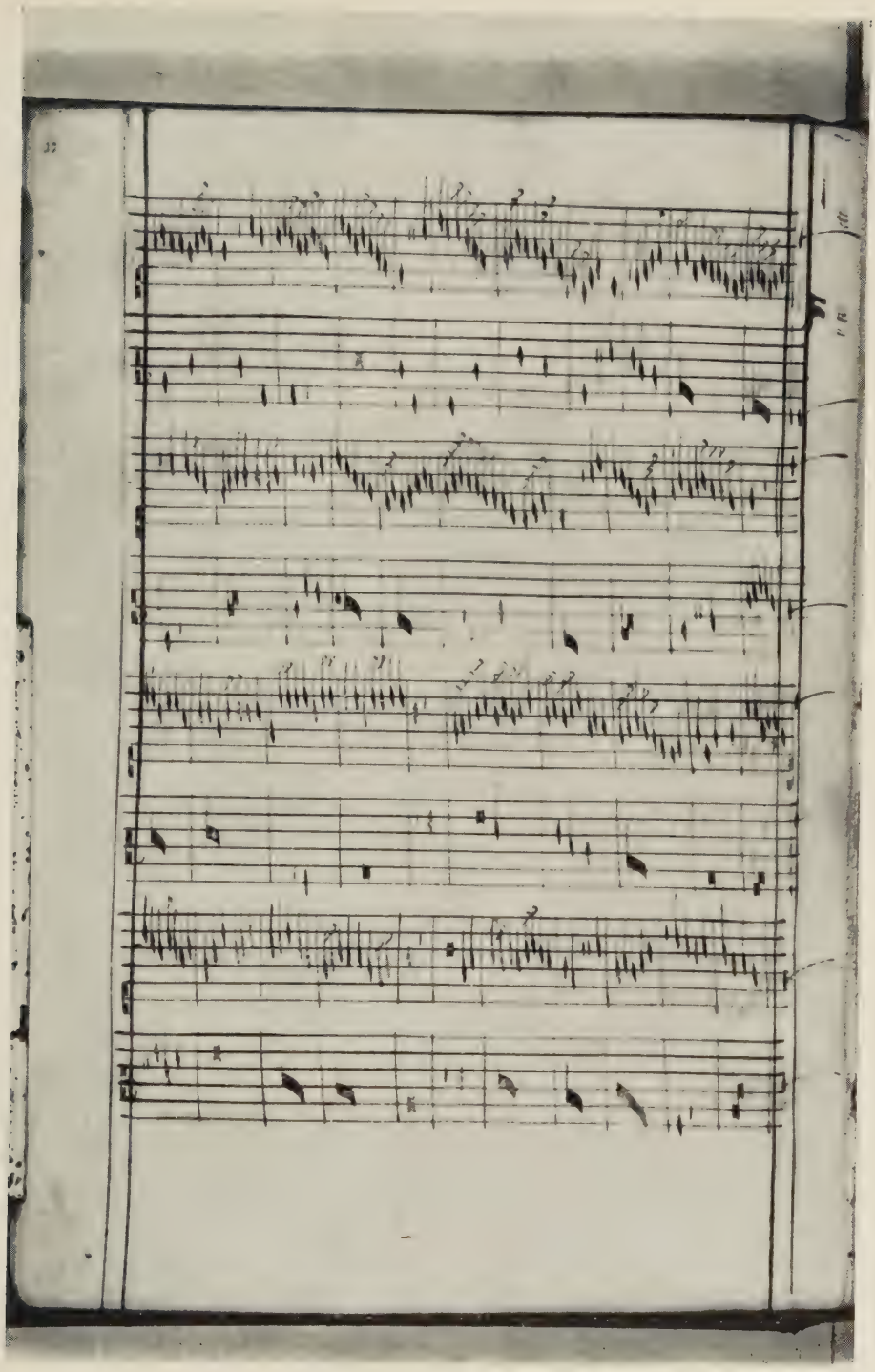

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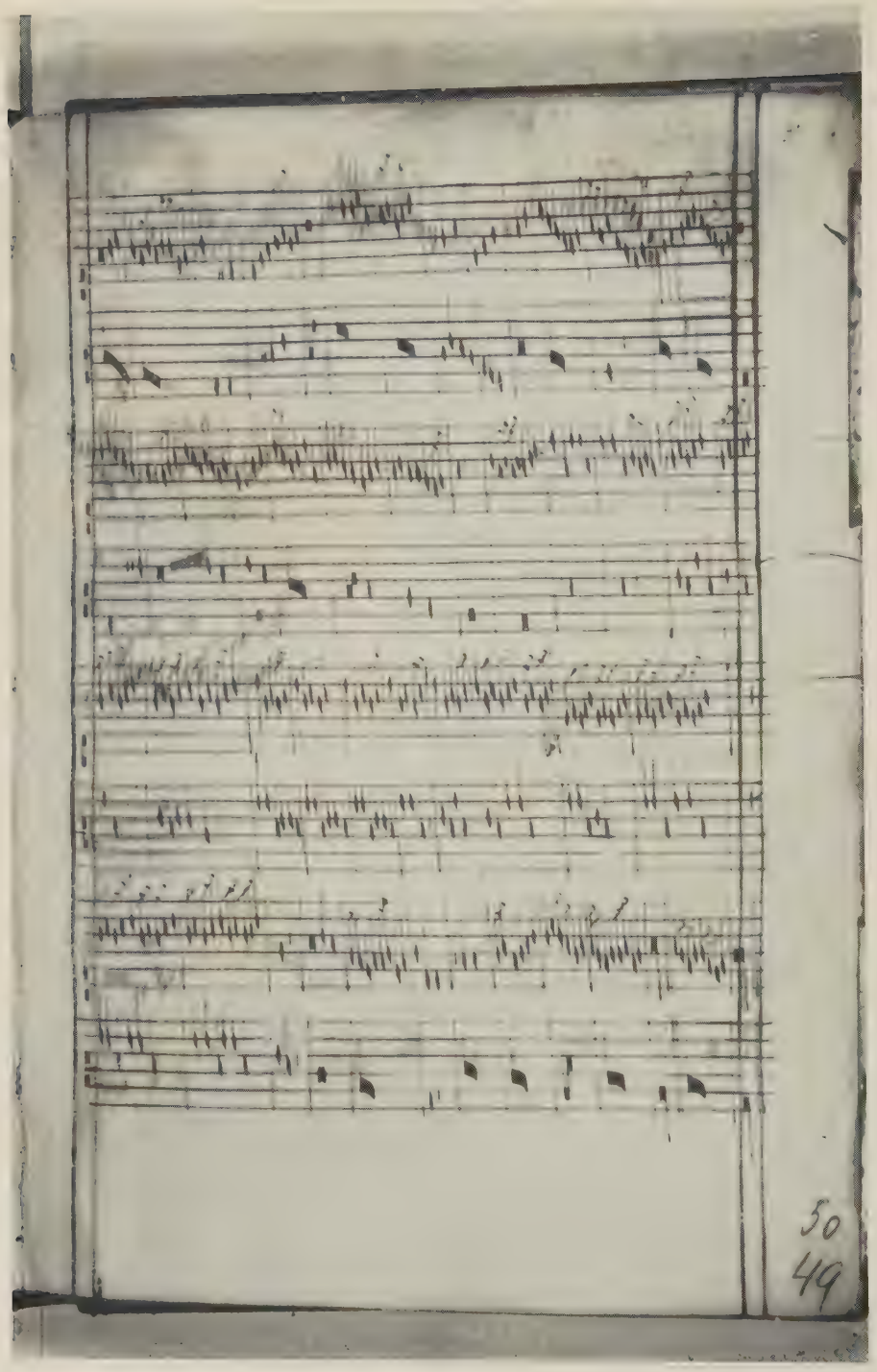

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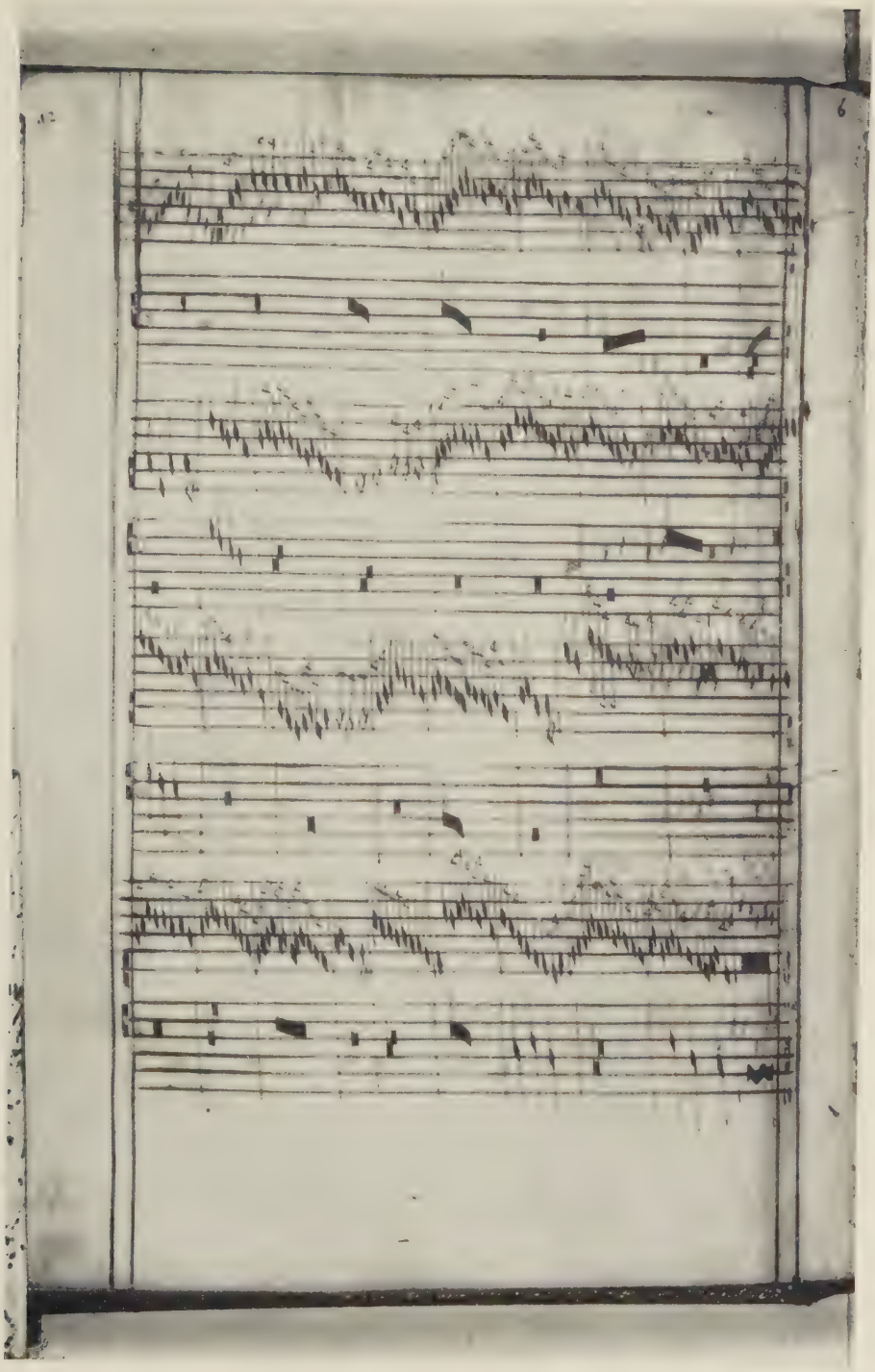

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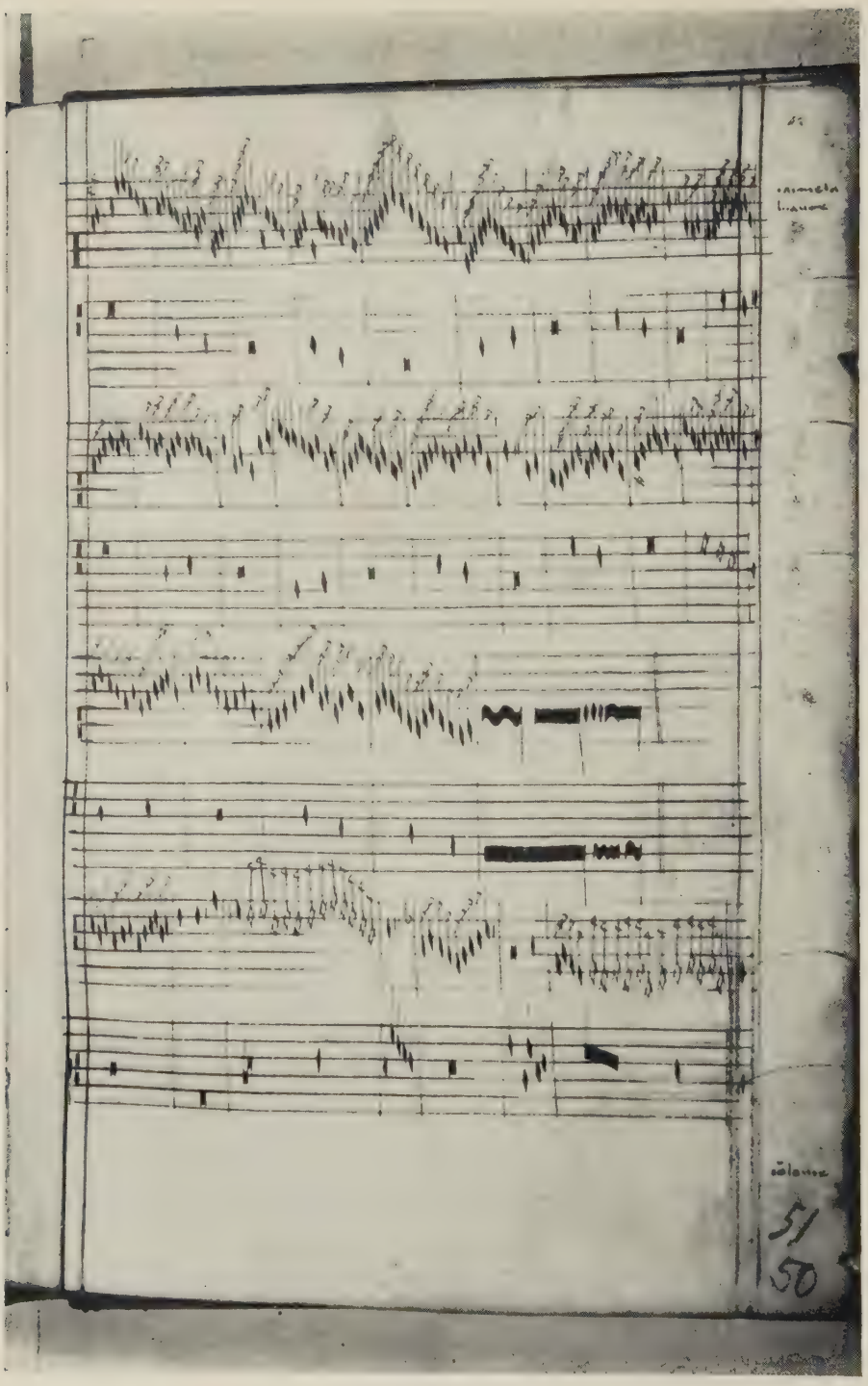

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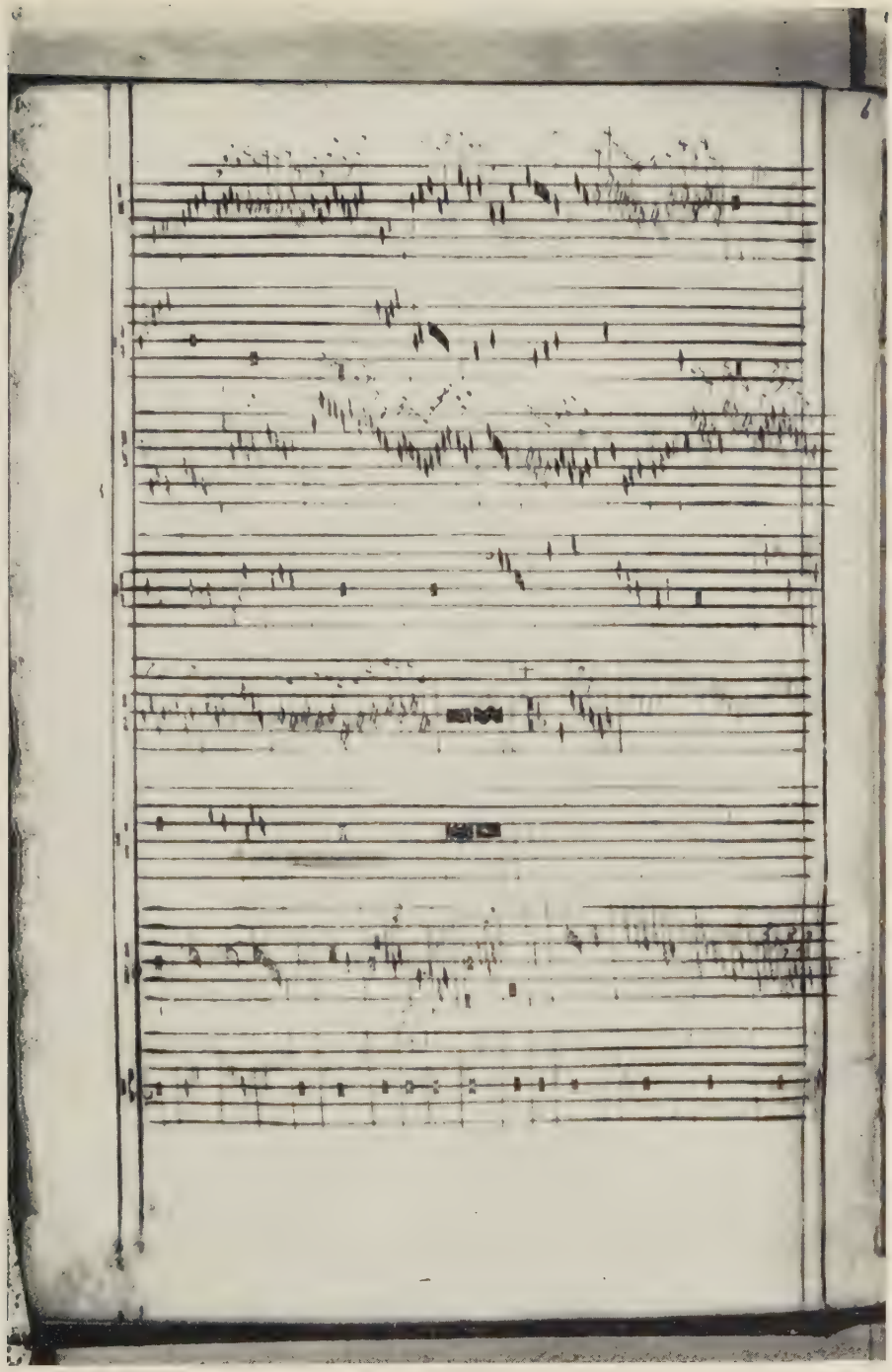

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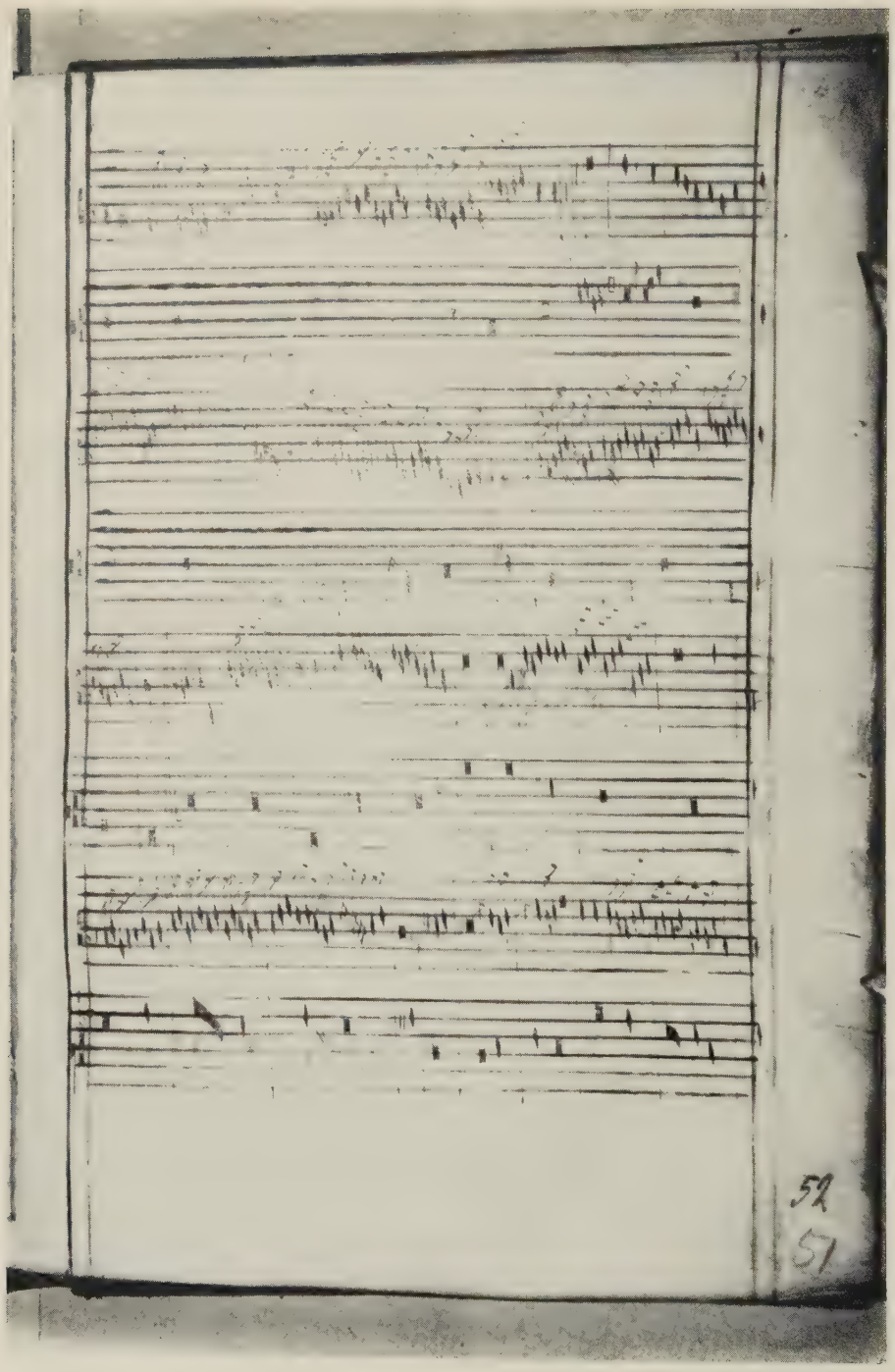

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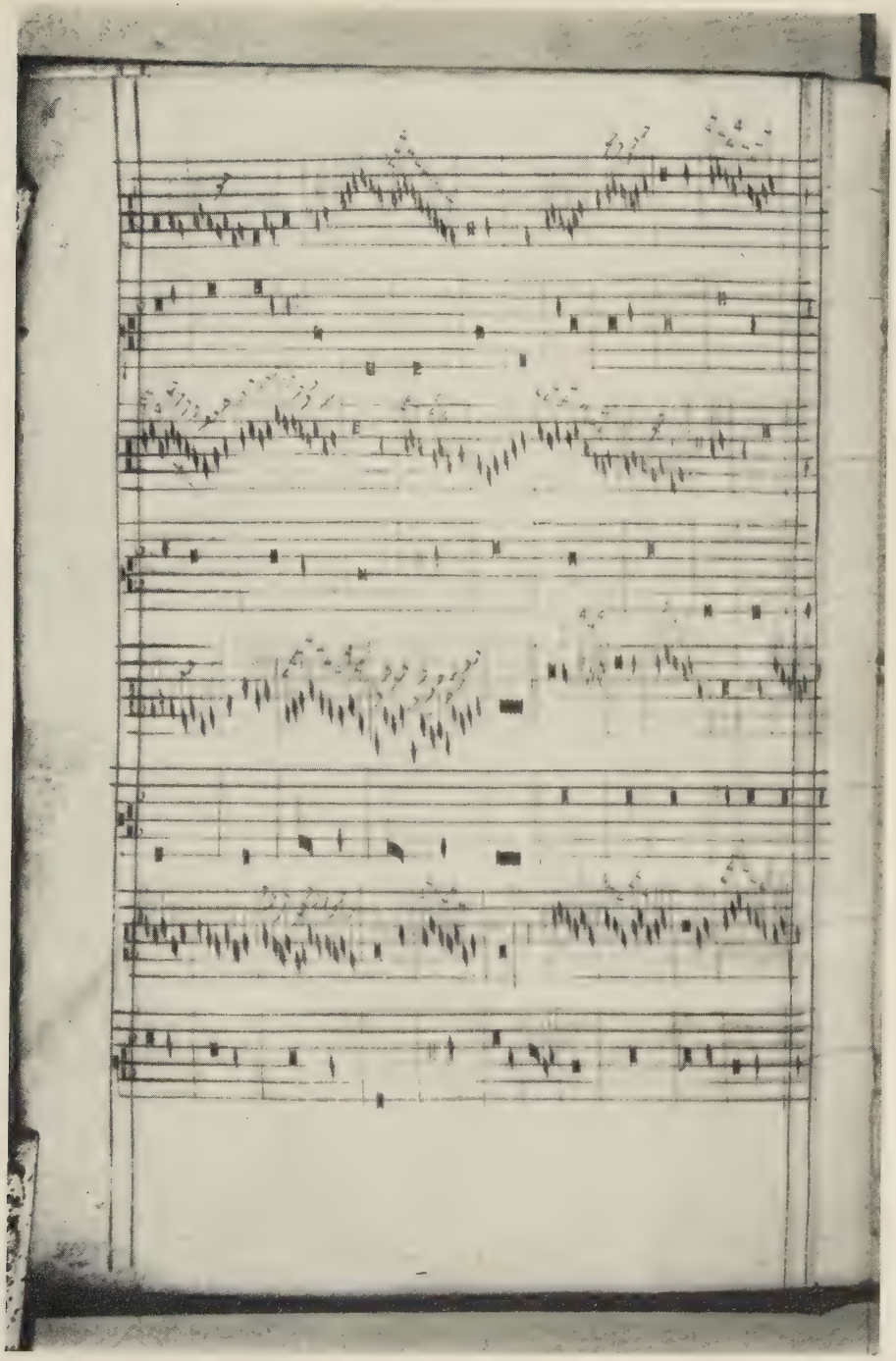

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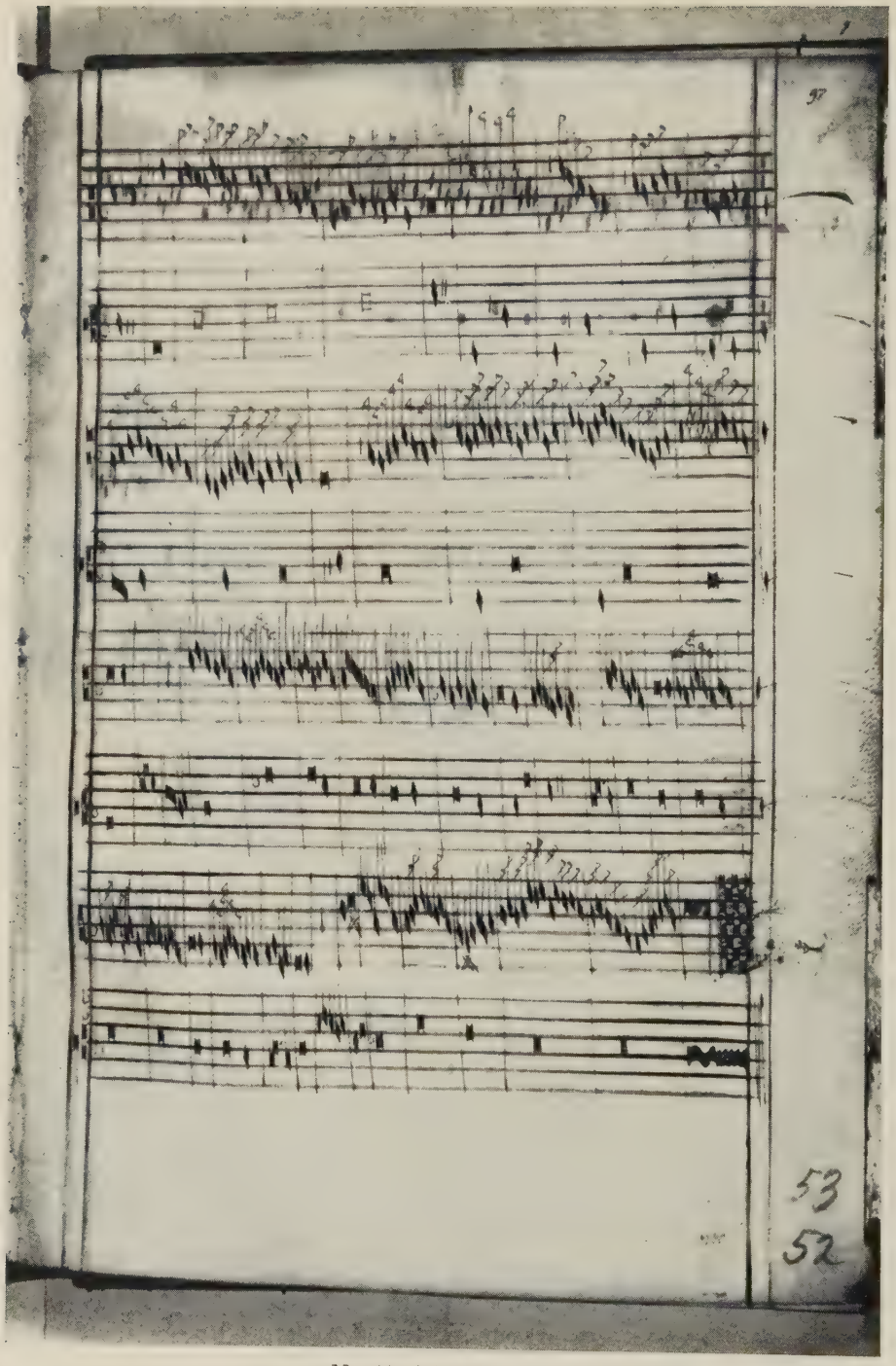

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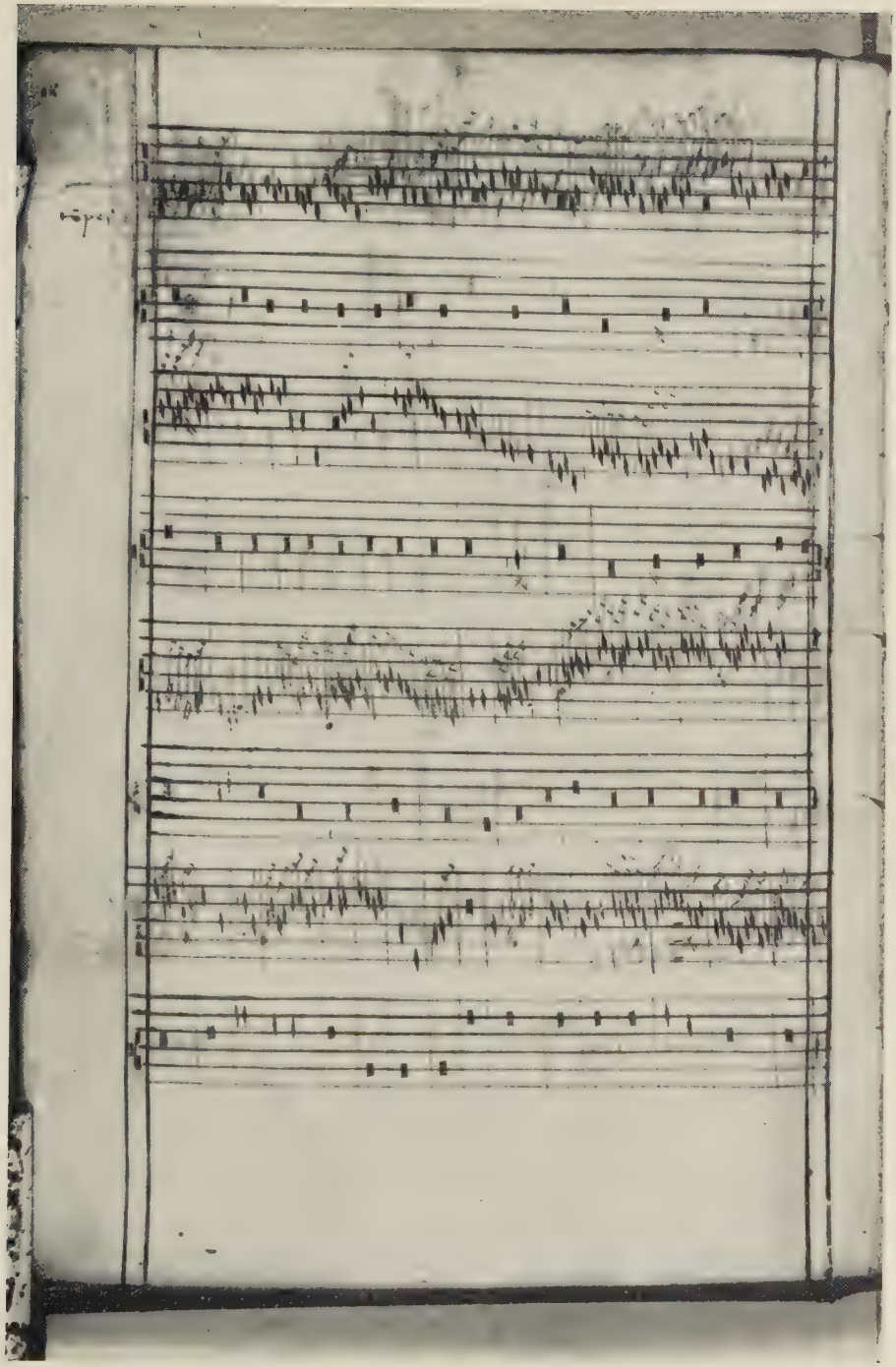

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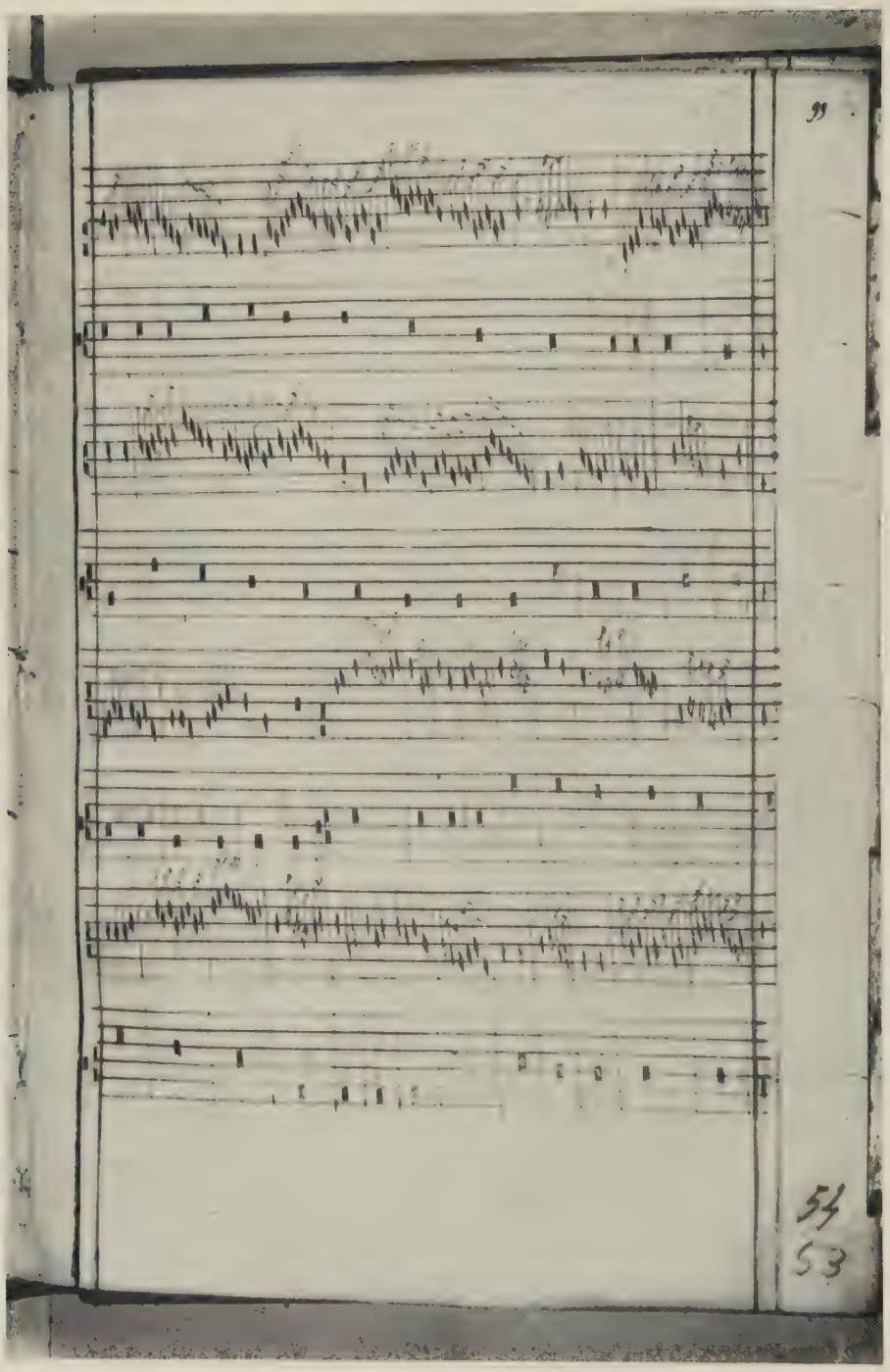

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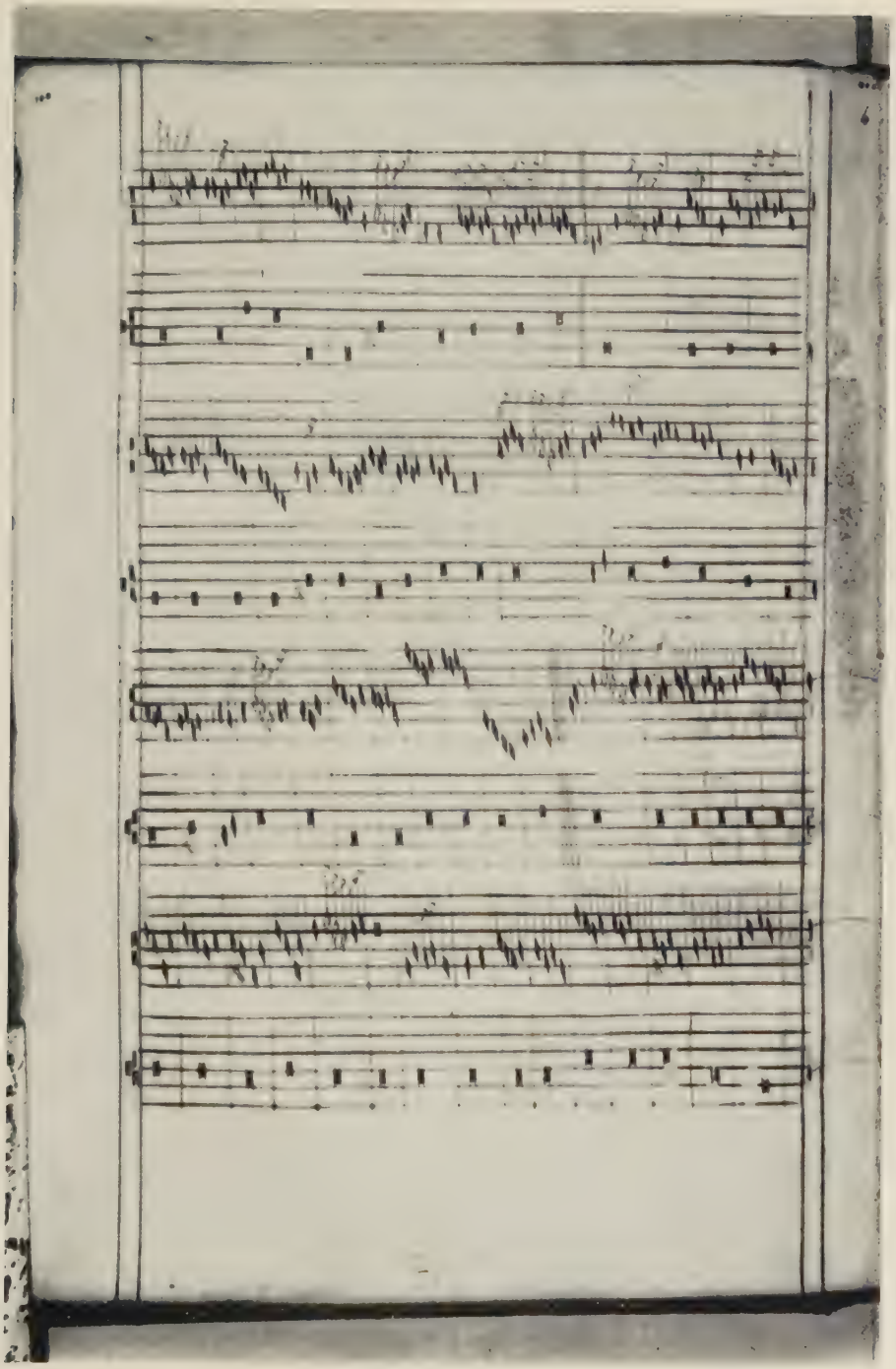

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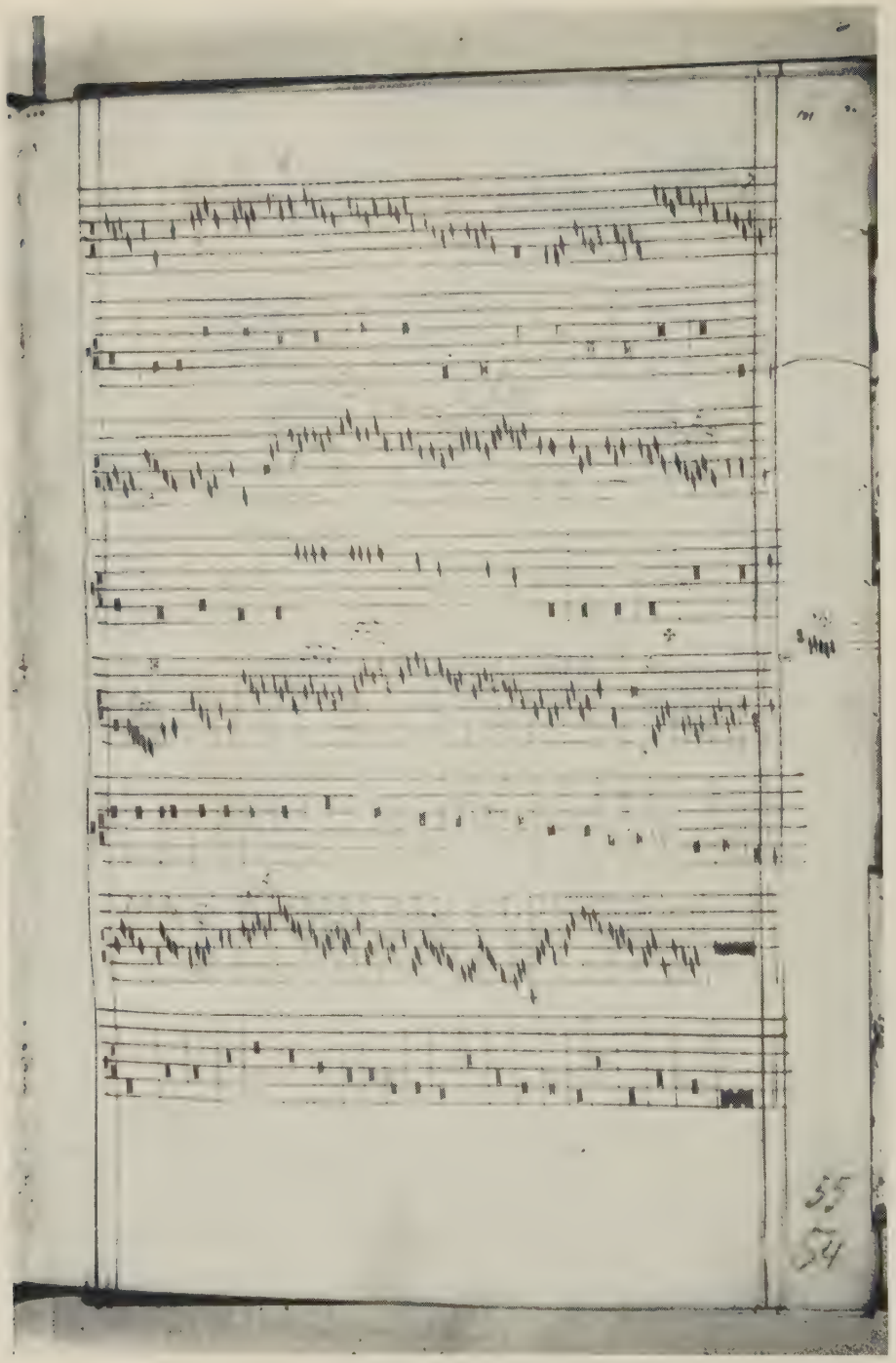

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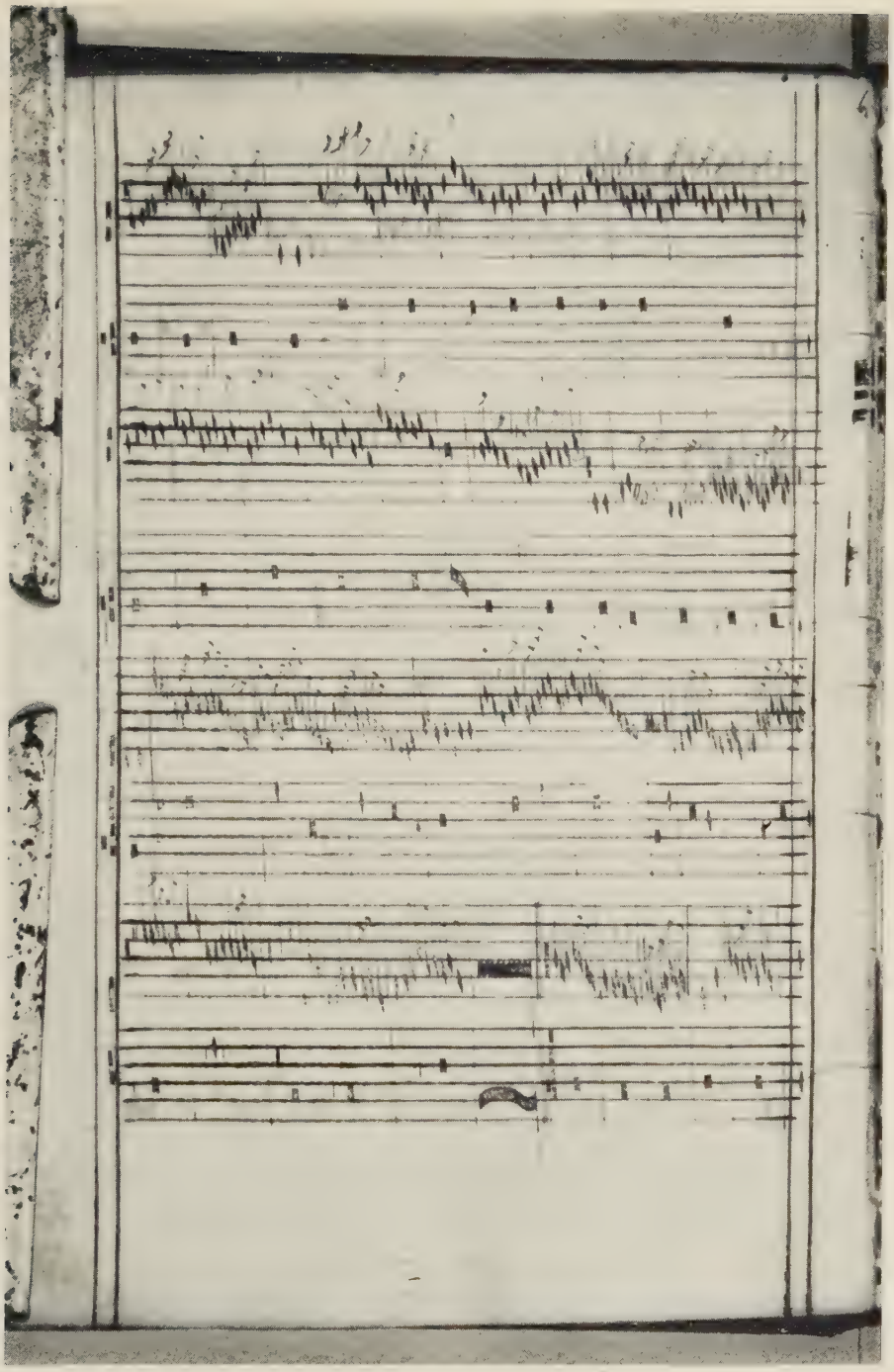

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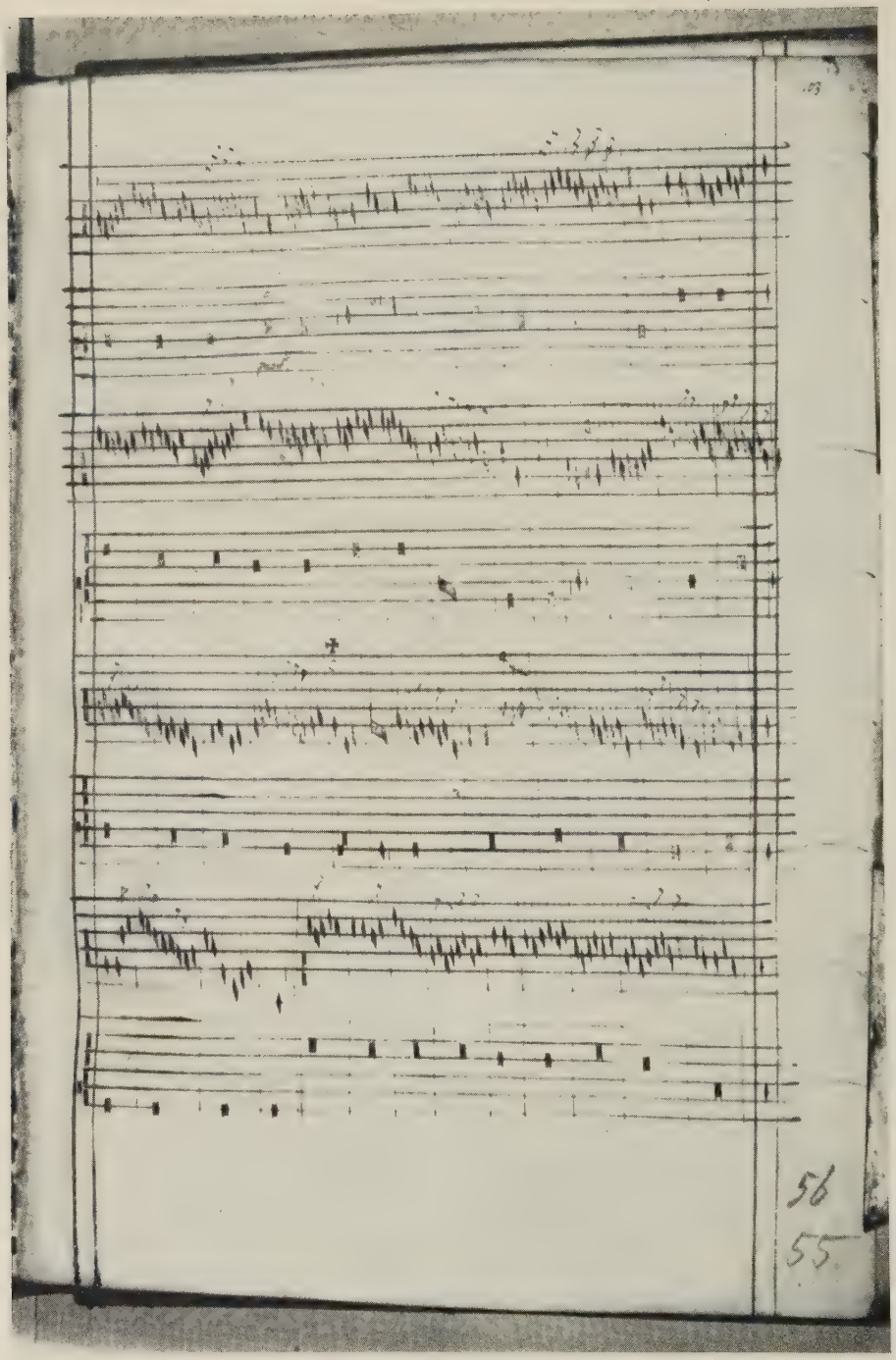

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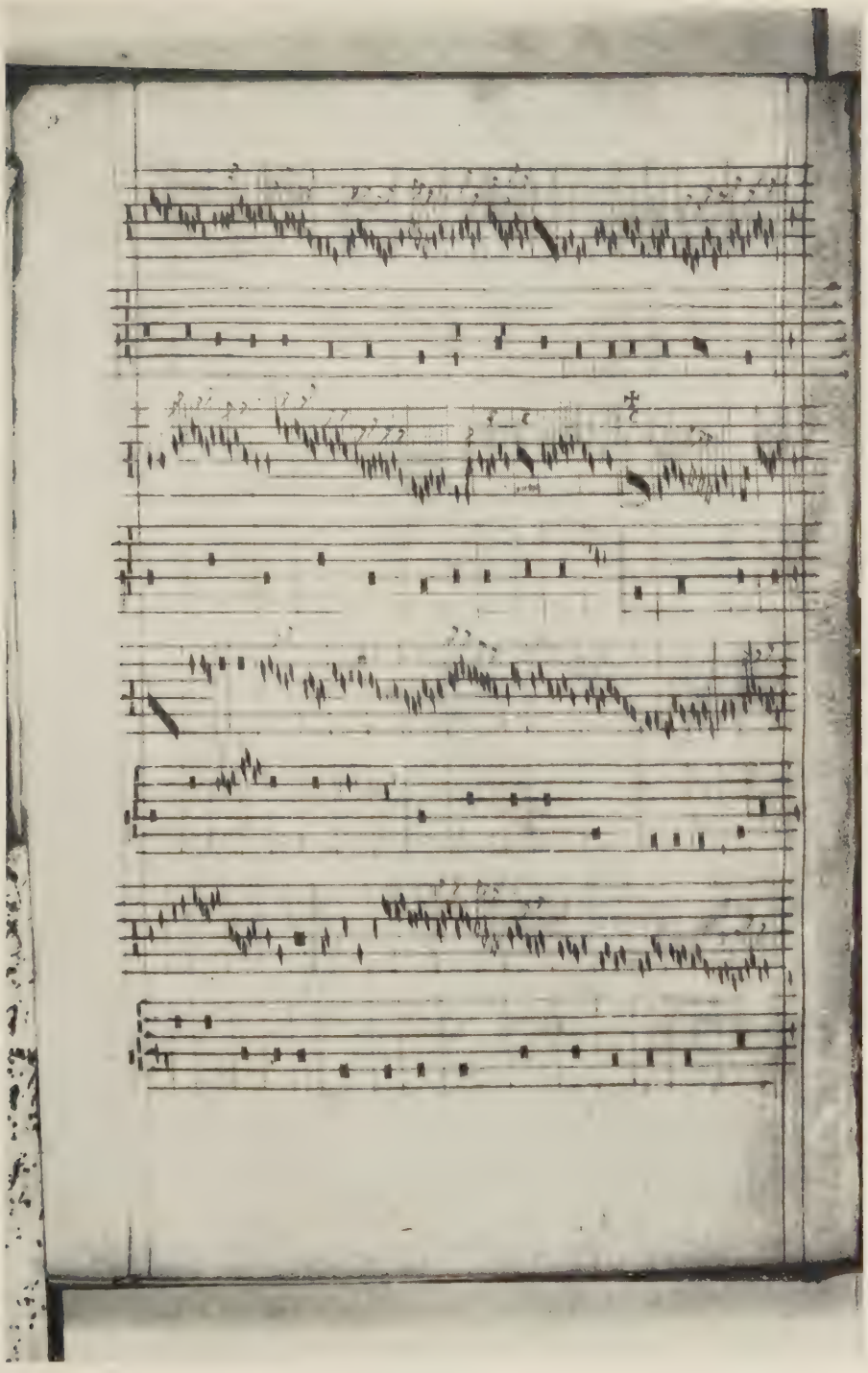

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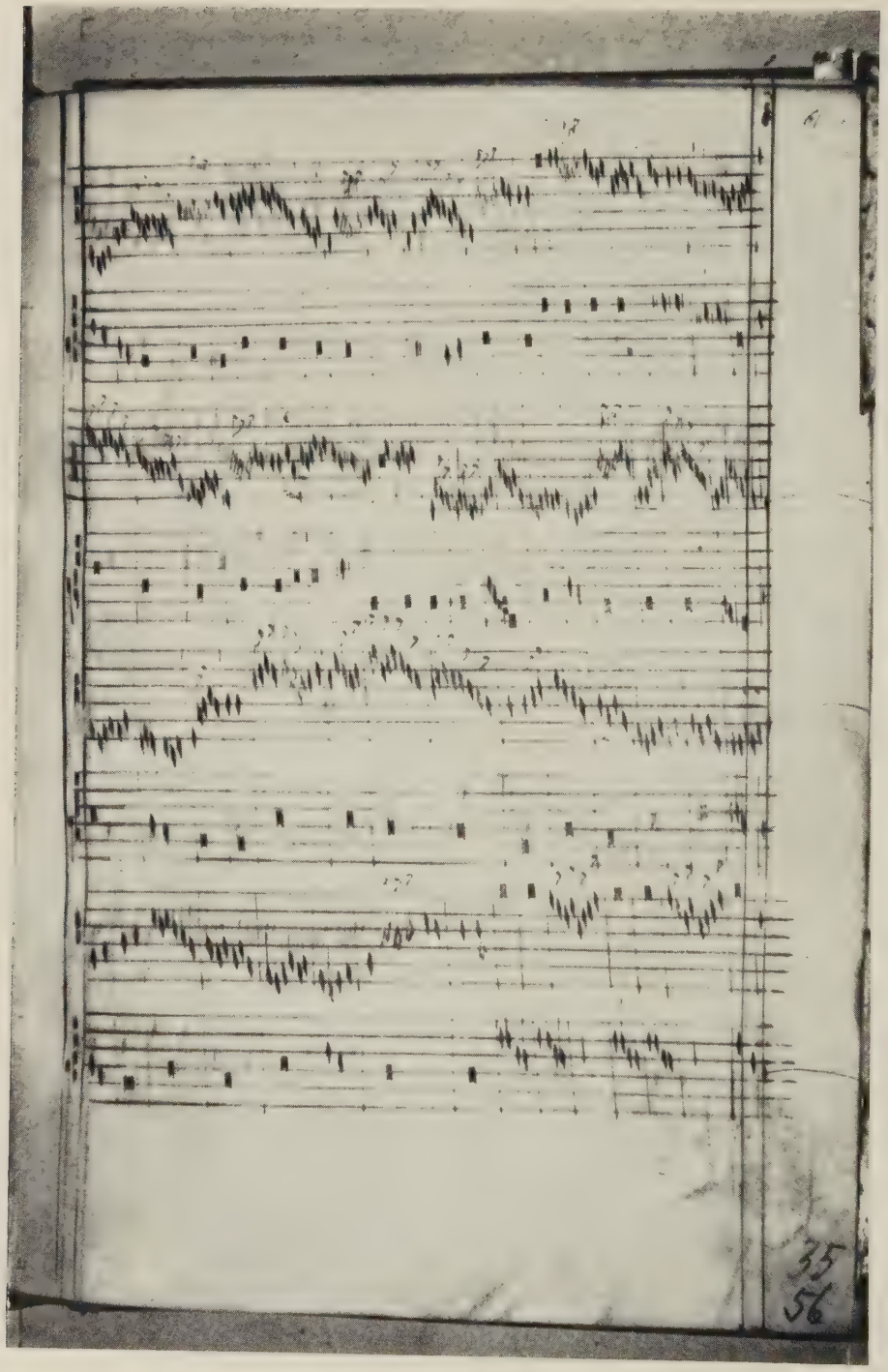

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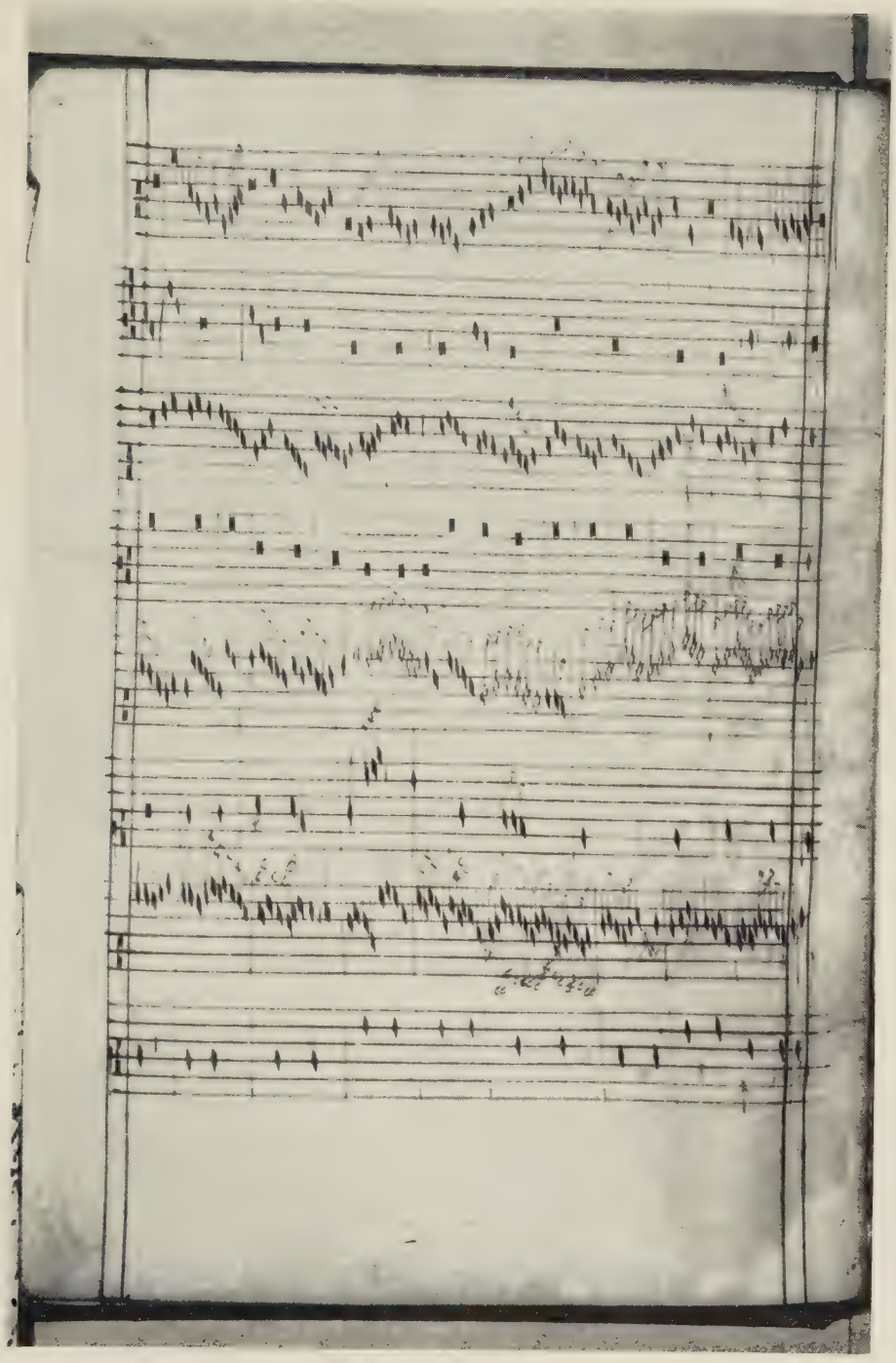

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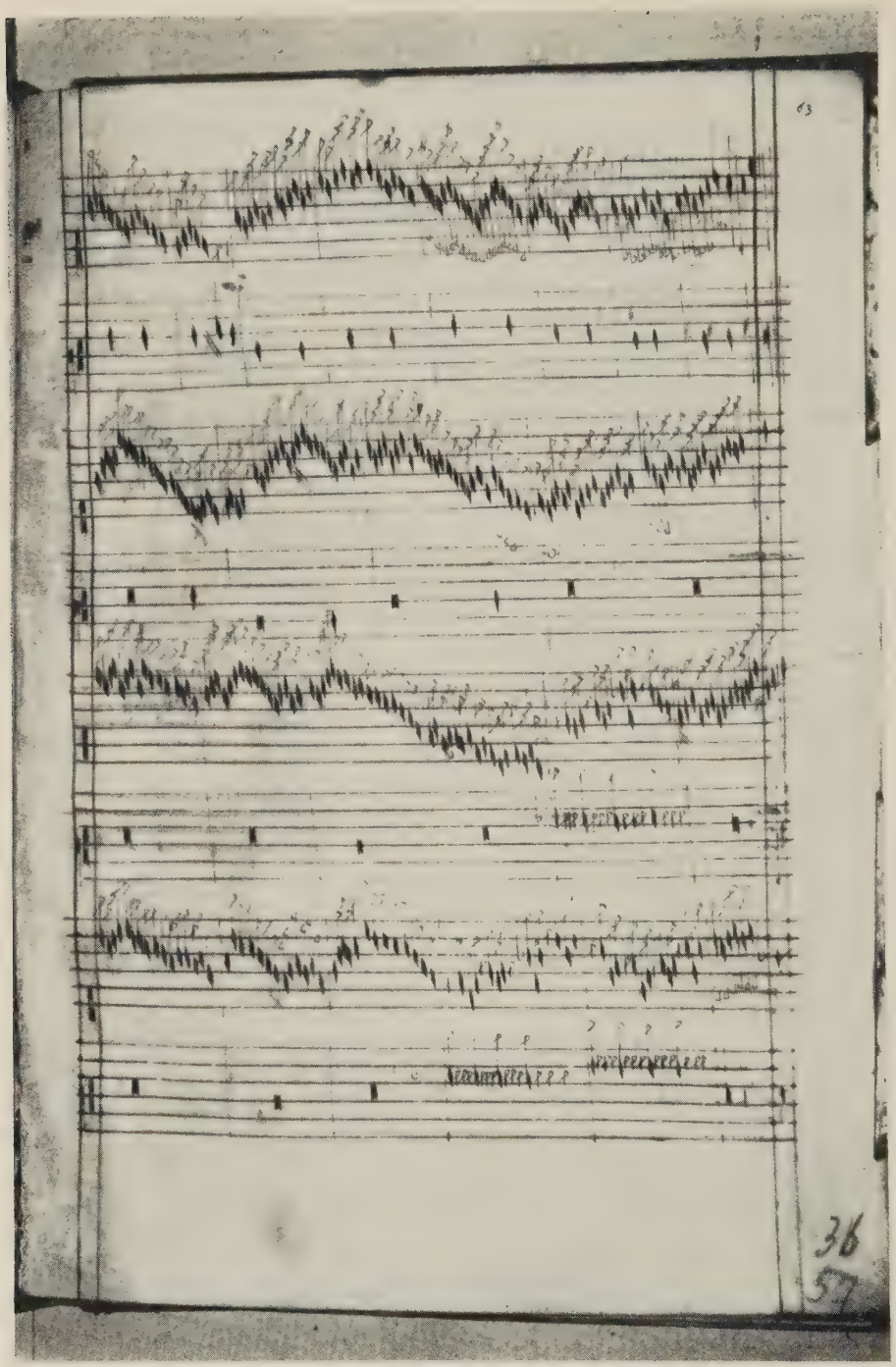

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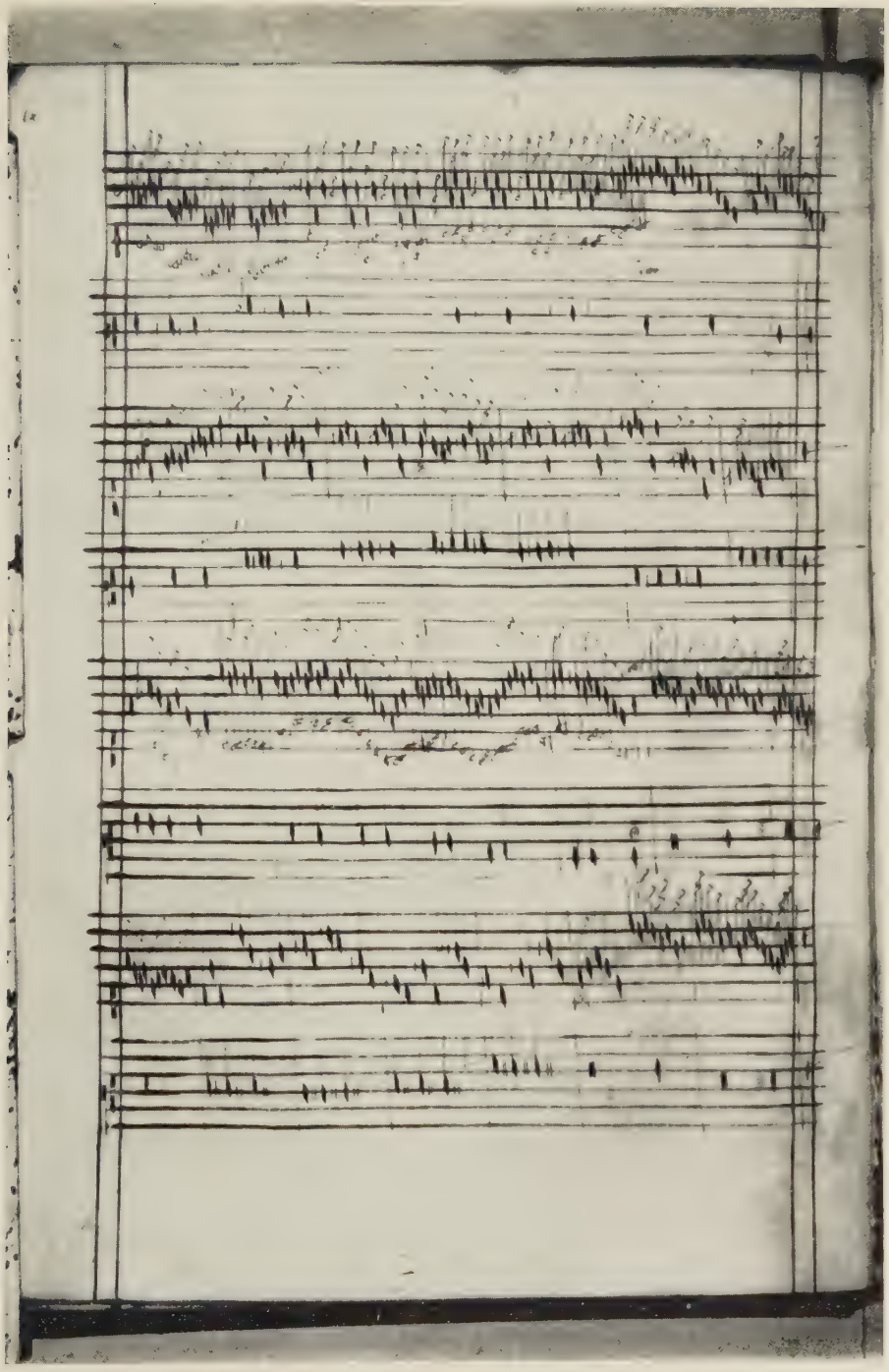

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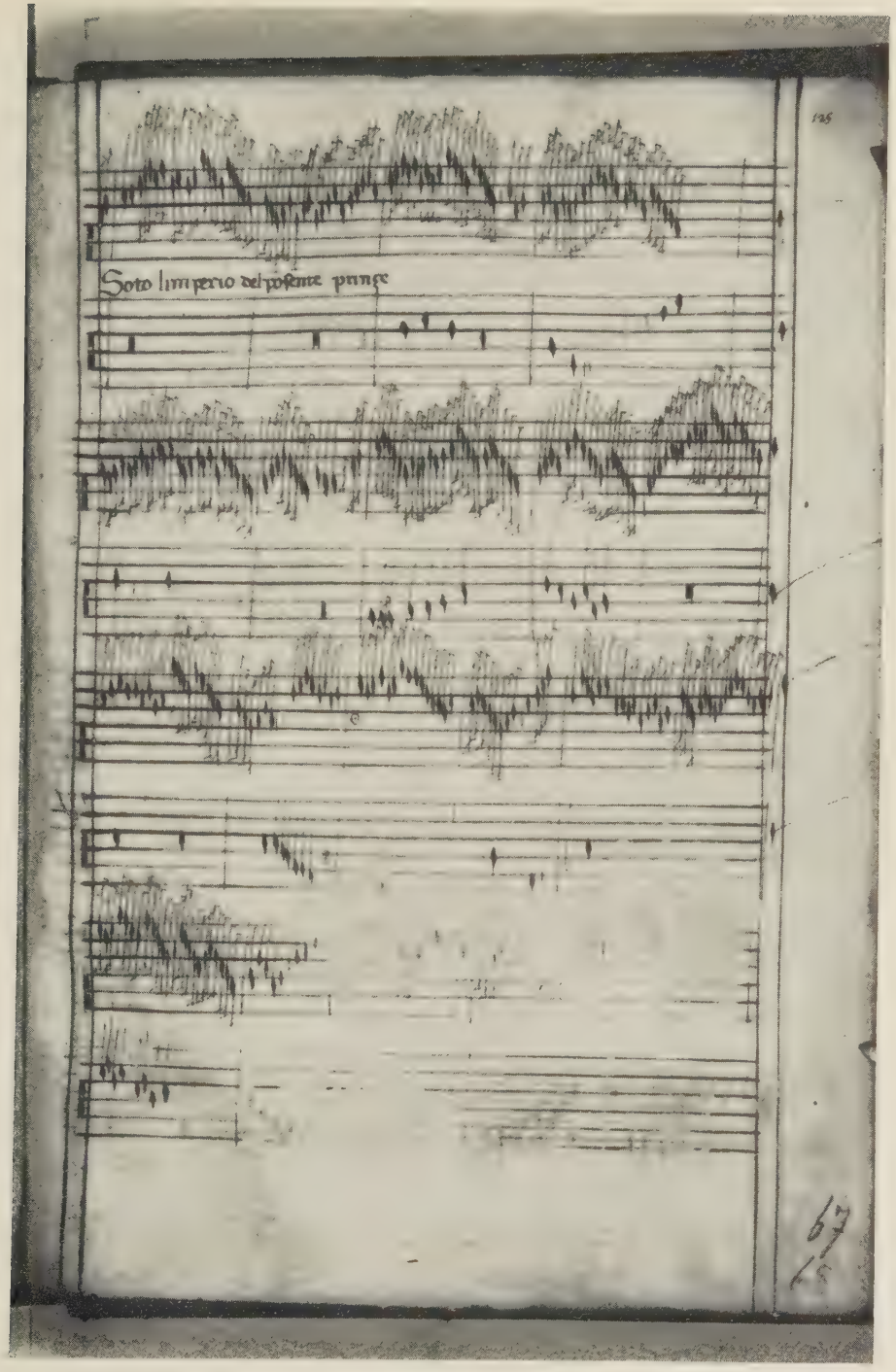

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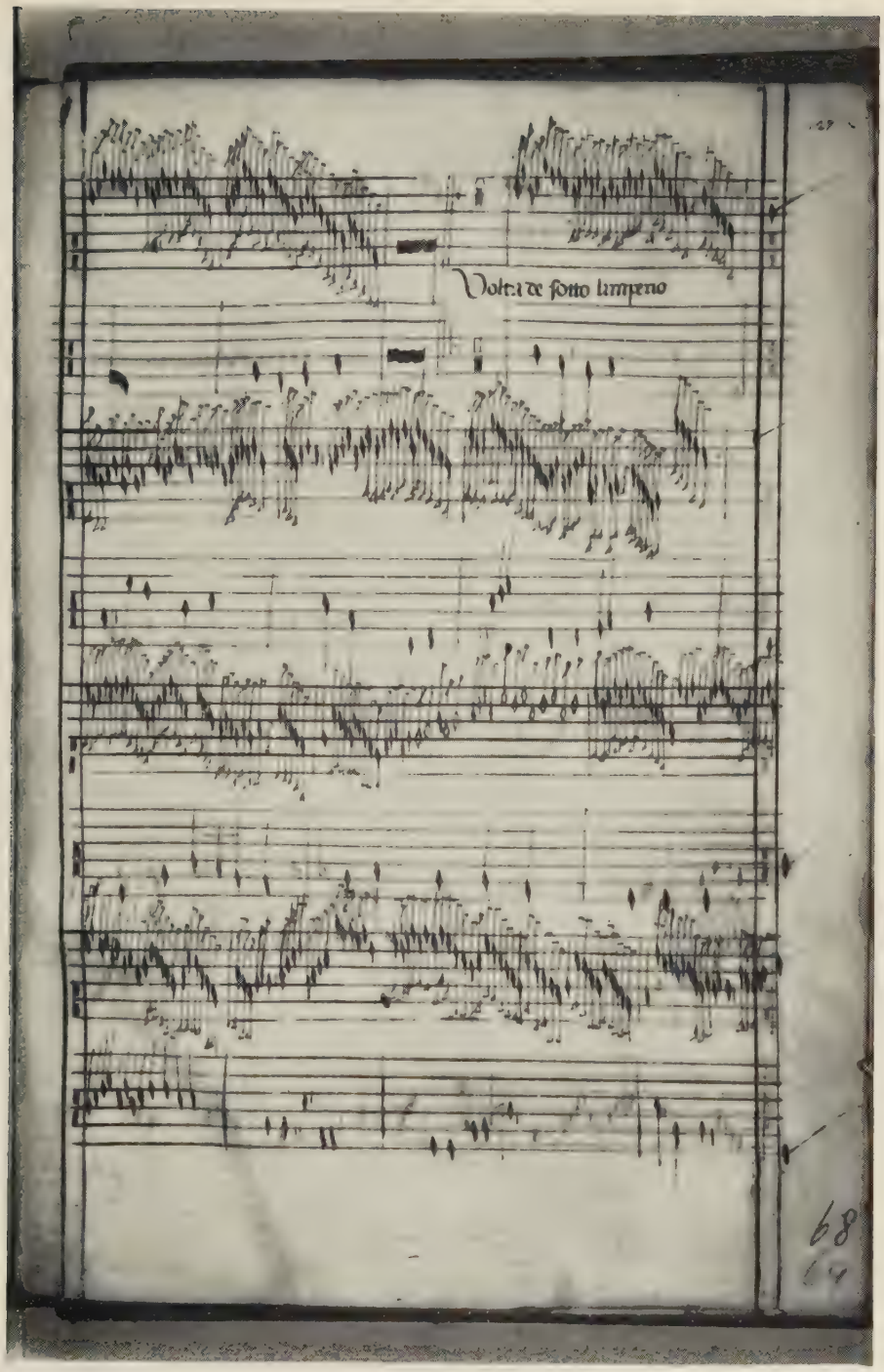

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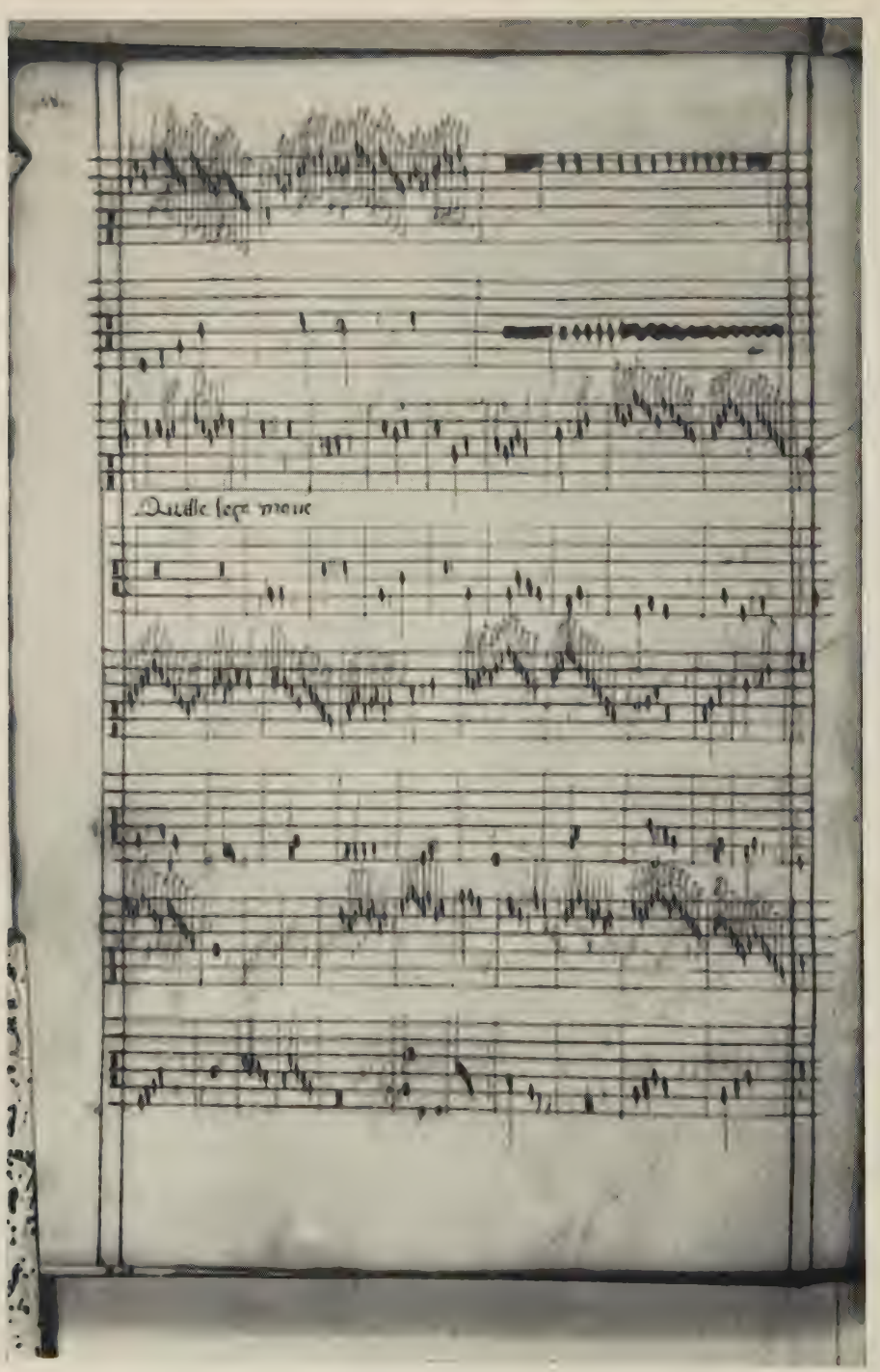

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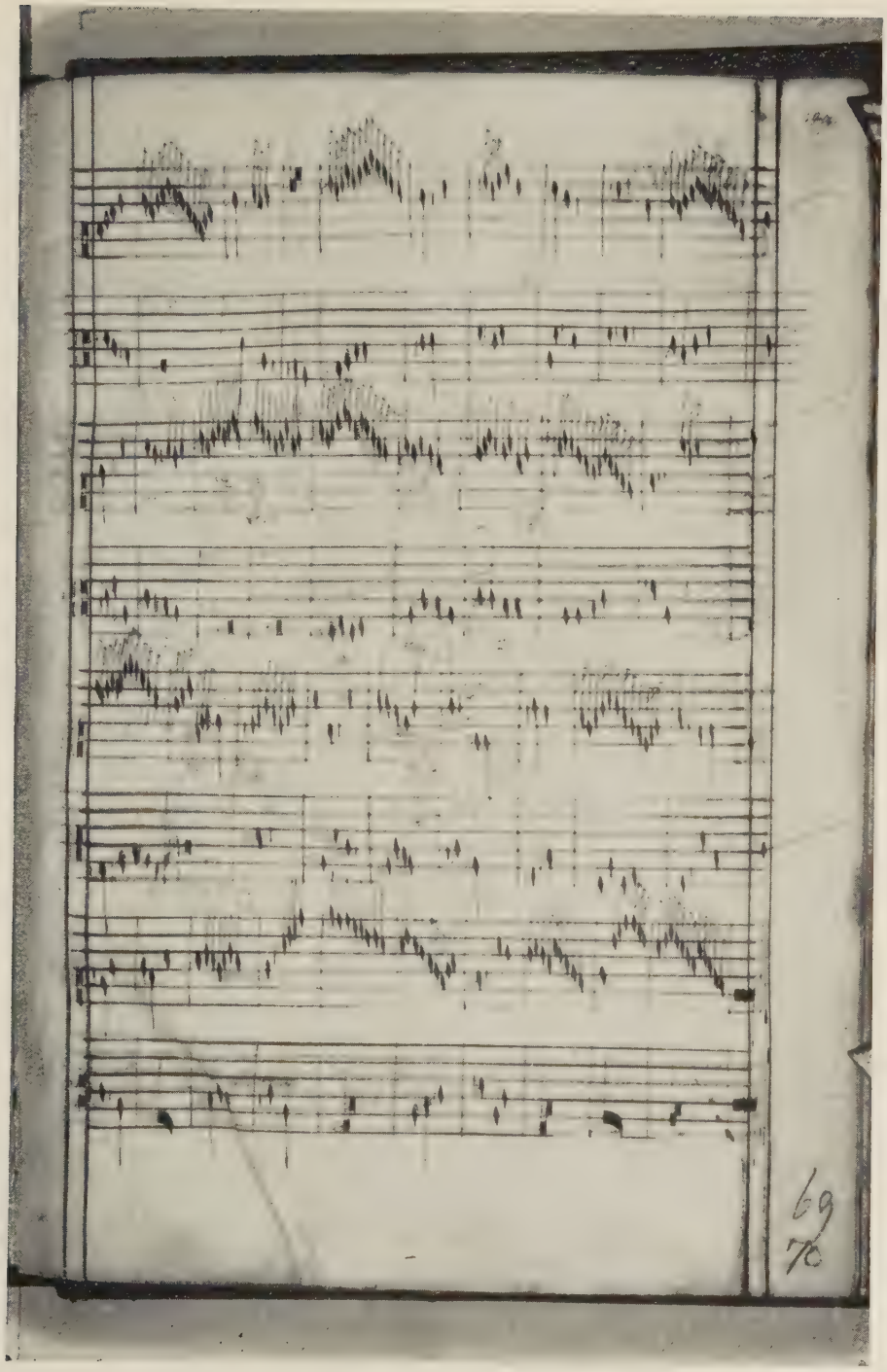

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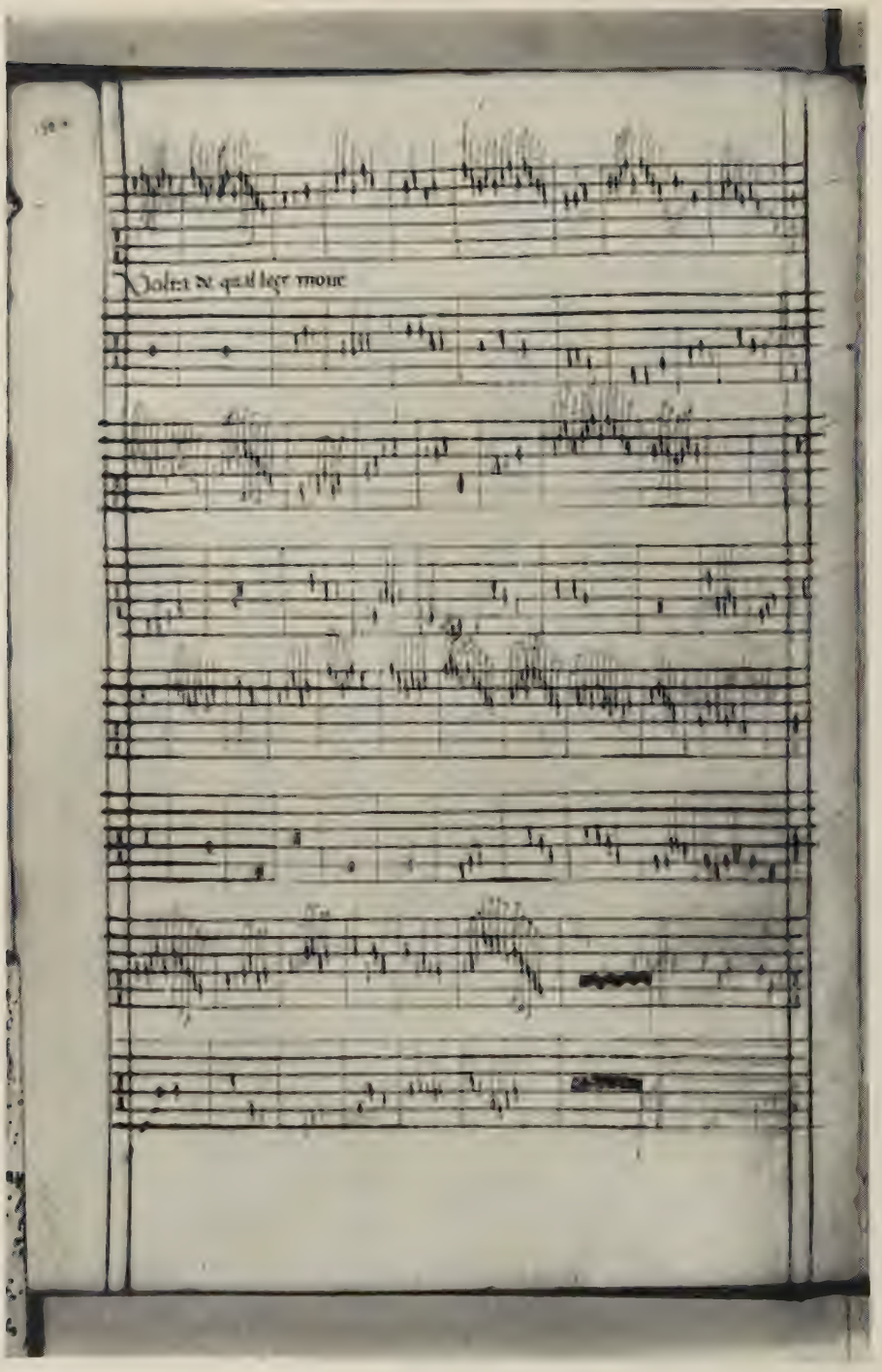

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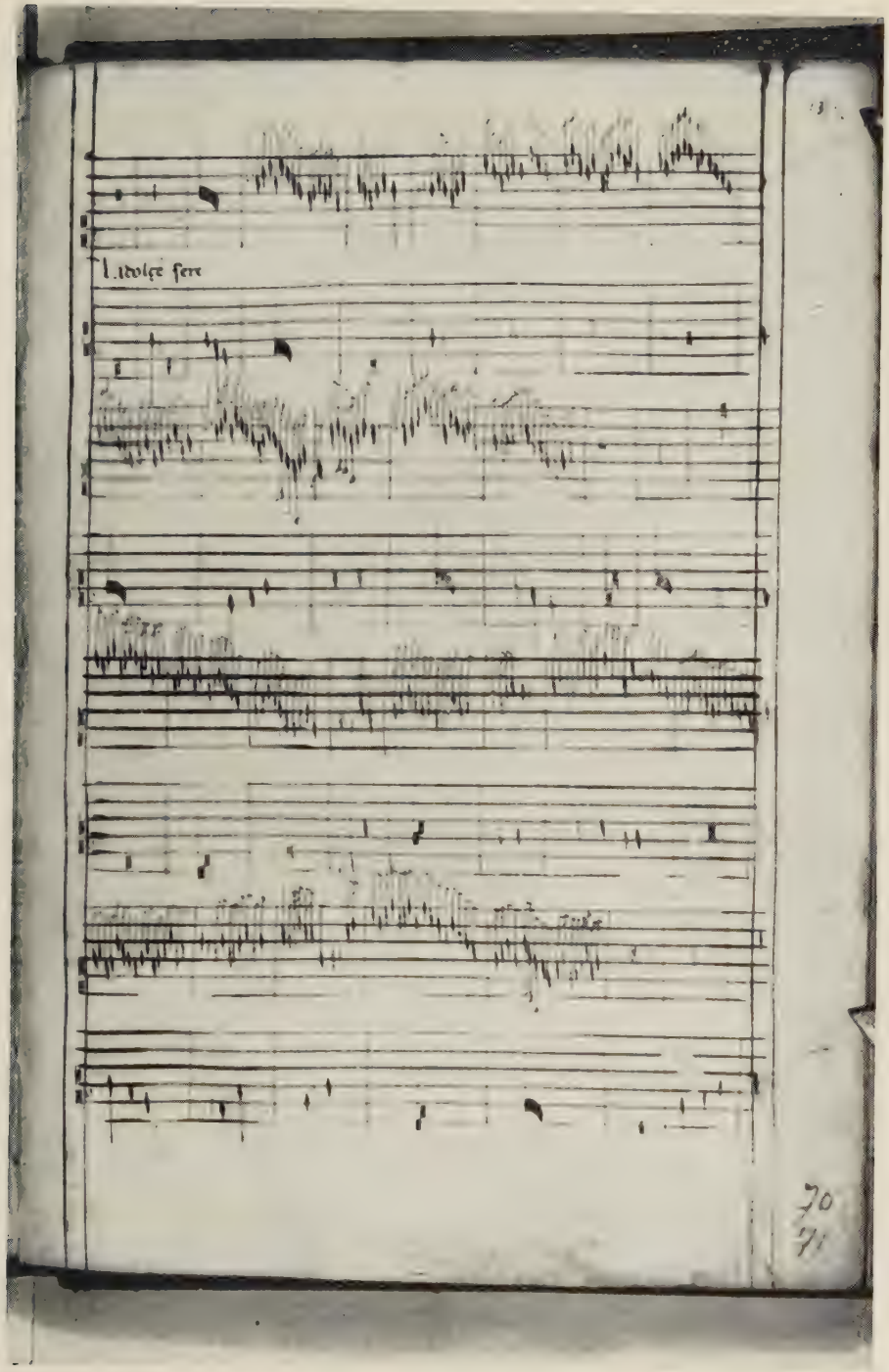

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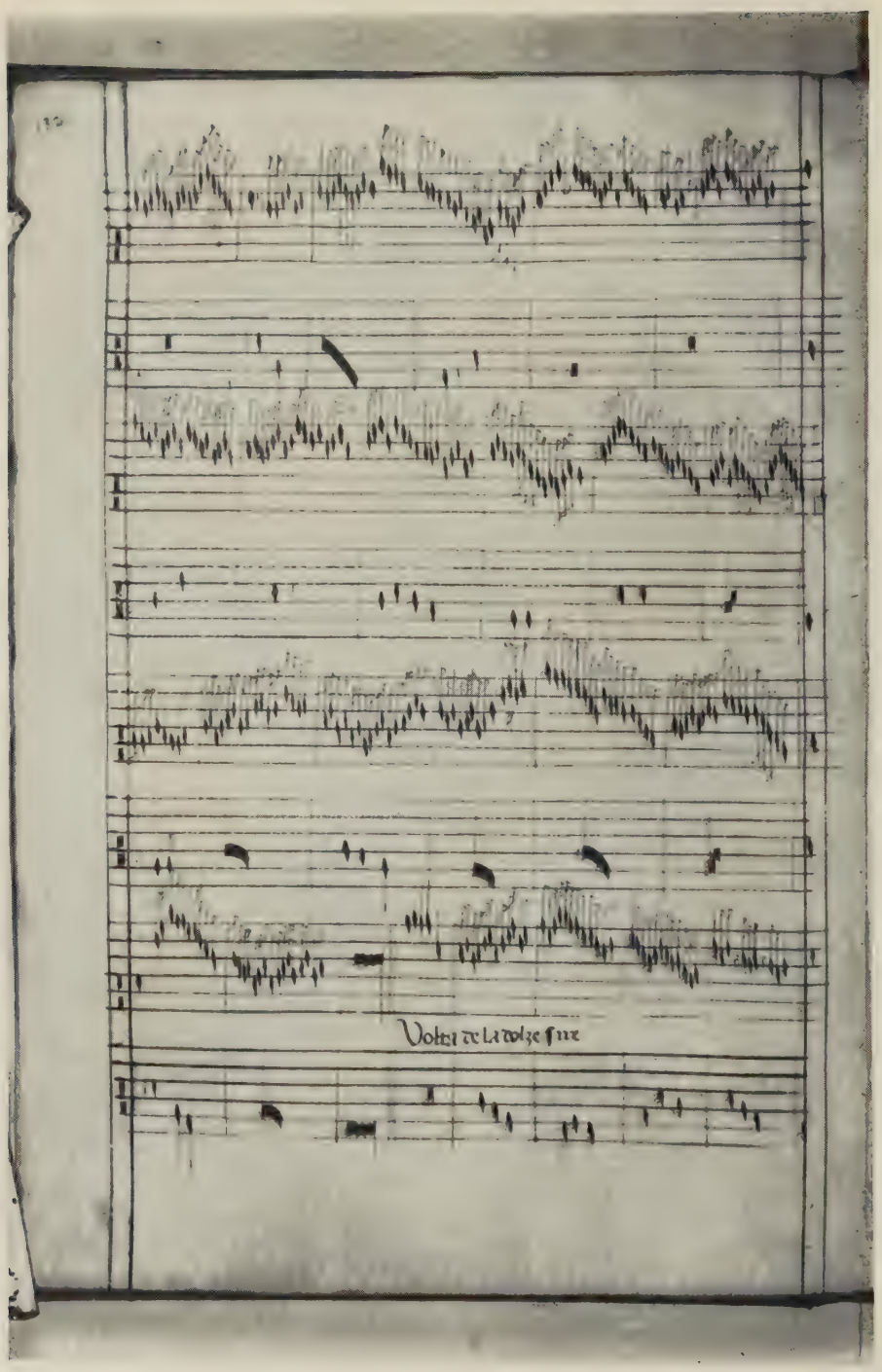

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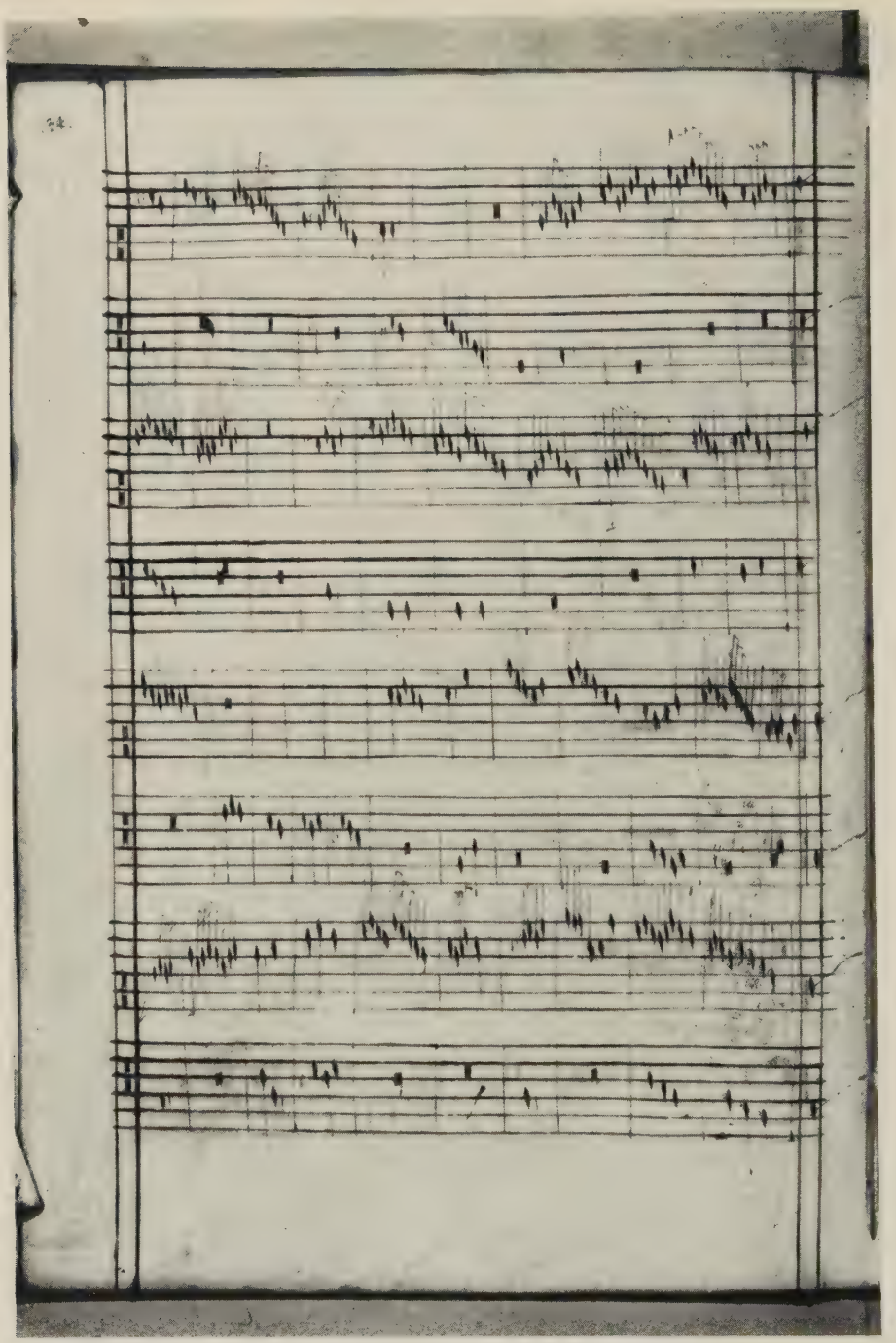

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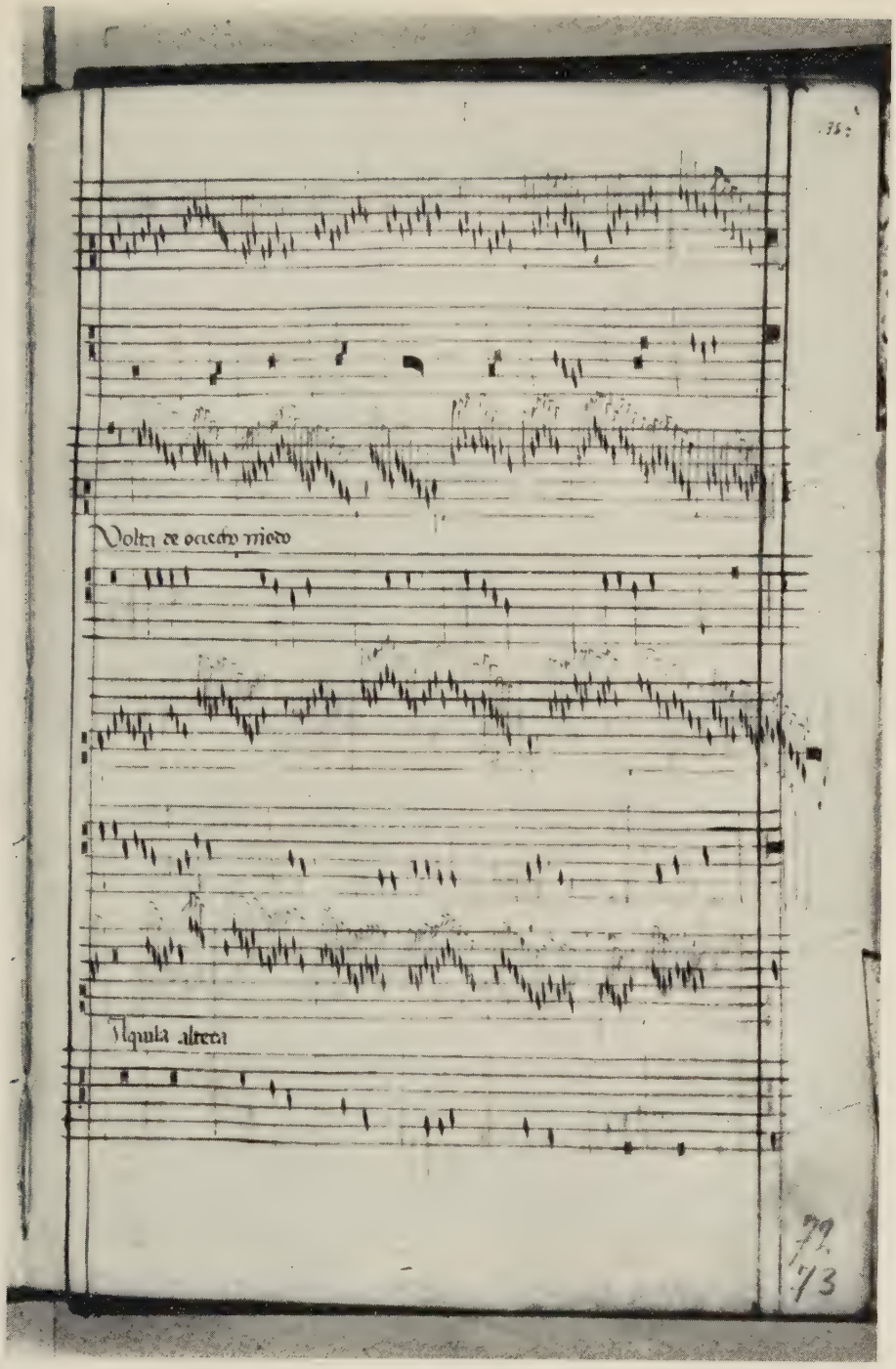

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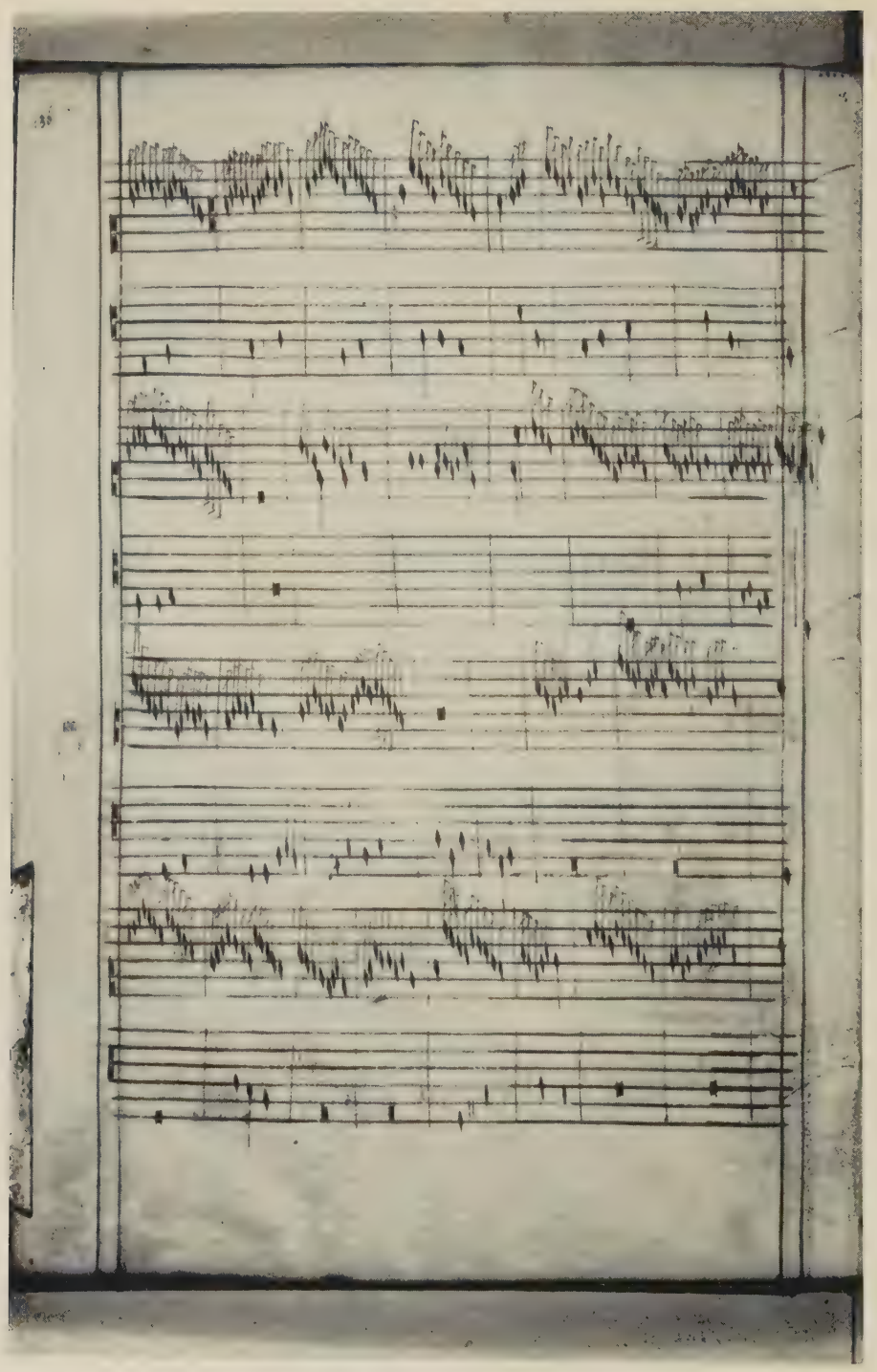


No. 64, fol. 72 = 73v

AN INTRODUCTION TO LUDFORD
(c. 1485-c. 1557) *

JOHN D. BERGSAGEL

It is now quite generally agreed among students of English music of the Tudor period that the most important of the contemporaries of the renowned Dr. Robert Fayrfax was a man named Nicholas Ludford [1]. However, one would expect such an assertion to be accepted generally only with a certain amount of uneasiness since of a full half-dozen names of Fayrfax's contemporaries Ludford's is likely to be the only completely unfamiliar one. Ashwell, Aston, Cornysh, Cowper, Davy — all will ring a bell, however faintly, — but Ludford? His case may remind us once again of the sad fate of first-class musicians in any age who, for one reason or another, fail to secure for themselves proper representation to the public. He appears not to have taken a University degree, and he seems to have made no impression on his contemporaries comparable to Fayrfax, Doctor of Music of Cambridge (1504) and, by incorporation, of Oxford (1511), remembered a century and a half later as "the prime musitian of the nation" [2]. Ludford is already forgotten by the seventeenth century and though in the eighteenth century Dr. Burney feels obliged to modify considerably Wood's press-agentry of Fayrfax, he nevertheless accords him the very fair treatment of printing several substantial passages of his music on the basis of which subsequent generations could make their own assessments of his merit. Of Ludford there is not a word. It is not that he is scorned like William Kasar [Rasar], Hugh Ashton, Thomas Ashwell, and John Norman, of whom Burney wrote "[they] may still rest in that peace and obscurity, which they have long enjoyed; as their garb is too uncouth, as well as antique, to bear the inspection of modern critics" [3]. It is simply that neither Burney nor Hawkins were aware that there ever was such a composer. Indeed, from his century to ours, Ludford has had only the

* *Editor's note:* The collected works of Ludford, edited by the present author, are in preparation for publication in *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae.*

[1] See, e.g., Edwin B. Warren, "The Life and Works of Robert Fayrfax", *Musica Disciplina* XI (1957), p. 148 (fn. 107).

[2] Antony Wood, (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood D 19 (4), f. 50).

[3] Dr. Charles Burney, *A General History of Music,* 2nd ed., ed. Frank Mercer (1935), reprinted New York, Dover, 1957, Vol. I, p. 794.

slender, but fortunately respected, evidence of inclusion in Morley's famous list of "Authorities" to guarantee the perpetuation, not of his music, certainly, but at least of his name.

On the threshold of the twentieth century Henry Davey recorded the existence of music by Ludford among the manuscript treasures listed in his valuable *History of English Music* [4], but the first serious attention to be directed to the music itself, so far as I am aware, is described in H. B. Collins' important paper "Latin Church Music by Early English Composers" given before the Musical Association early in 1913 [5]. Ludford is, of course, only one among many included in this survey, and Collins complains of the difficulty of his notation, so as a revelation of long-lost genius it is less than comprehensive. Still, it must have impressed at least one of those present for in the discussion following Collins' second paper on this subject four years later Sir Richard Terry is already announcing the publication of Ludford's complete masses. Terry observed that the masses by Ludford which he had performed

> "show him to be a much bigger man than I at first suspected. His is very fine broad writing, eminently satisfactory both vocally and contrapuntally. However, as I shall have something to say about him shortly, and as his complete masses will be published after the war, perhaps I had better not anticipate what I have to say under that head" [6].

Unfortunately, this was among the enthusiastic and over-ambitious plans of Terry which failed to reach fulfillment; neither note nor comment achieved publication. But he did carry out with remarkable energy the work of reclaiming from manuscript sources for performance in his own Westminster Cathedral the forgotten glories of English Latin church music. By 1917 he could write, with justifiable pride "Very little remains of Tallis, Byrd, White and Tye that has not been performed here. This, it is hoped, will be heard this year (Holy Week, 1917)". In Holy Week 1918 he performed two masses by each of Ludford and Fayrfax, and in succeeding Holy Weeks he added three more masses by Ludford [7]. However, these performances did not, like Mendelssohn's performance of the *St. Matthew Passion,* inspire any emulation, and we do not learn of their being heard again after Terry left the Cathedral.

It was at this time that W. H. Grattan Flood was introducing music historians in England to the possibilities of documentary evidence. In the course of his researches in the Public Record Office he was able to ac-

[4] London, Curwen, 1895; 2nd rev. ed. 1921.

[5] *Proceedings of the Musical Association* XXXIX (1912-13), p. 55.

[6] *Ibid.,* Vol. XLIII (1916-17), p. 97.

[7] Hilda Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect,* (London, Oxford University Press, 1948), pp. 118, 123.

cumulate just enough information concerning Ludford to attempt a sketchy biography. It was a very slender skeleton, admittedly, and not entirely accurate, but when published as Chapter XIX of his *Early Tudor Composers* [8] it did serve to put the name of Nicholas Ludford, with a full, though again not completely accurate, list of works, where it belonged in the company of his peers, Cornysh, Aston, Fayrfax, Ashwell, Davy, Taverner, etc. Over thirty years later Dr. Hugh Baillie's extensive work on London music and musicians in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries gleaned additional interesting information and he has perhaps given as much form as will ever be possible to the shadowy figure of the man [9]. The main details of this outline are as follows:

Having discovered a record of the admission in 1521 of Nicholas Ludford to the Fraternity of St. Nicholas, the Guild of the Parish Clerks of the City of London, to which society Robert "Ffeyrfox" was admitted in 1502, Baillie makes what seems a reasonable assumption that this difference in dates represents the approximate difference in their ages. This would mean that Ludford was born about 1485. He spent most of his mature life as a member of the musical establishment of St. Stephen's Westminster. His large-scale Mass *Lapidaverunt Stephanum* was surely written for St. Stephen's and since it occurs in the Lambeth Choirbook, which was written in the early years of the sixteenth century, we can assume that he had gained his appointment to this magnificent collegiate church by 1510, or shortly thereafter. He was identified as a verger in the Dissolution Certificate of 1547, and was still receiving a pension in 1555/6, probably dying soon after, Baillie suggests c. 1557. Baillie expresses surprise at finding such a distinguished musician occupying the lowly post of verger and suggests that with advancing years Ludford had retired to this position and continued on pension being too old to find a new appointment after the dissolution of his College. This seems a reasonable suggestion, yet it is perhaps worth mentioning that Ludford is not the only musical verger to be encountered among early sixteenth-century London musicians. Furthermore, in the *Statutes of the New Foundation of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin* (1539) the duty of carrying the *virga* is specifically delegated to a musician:

> "Likewise that three *clerici chorales habeantur* in said cathedral, of whom the first shall be learned in the musical art *tam ad pulsatione Organorum quam in cantu plano et fracto, pariter et in sufficienti discantu pro instructione puerorum,* who shall be master of the Boys under the praecentor and shall minister in the daily mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary and in the high Mass, and as often as any Mass *cum cantu fracto*

[8] London, Oxford University Press, 1925.

[9] Hugh Baillie, "Nicholas Ludford (c. 1485-c. 1557)", *The Musical Quarterly* XLIV (April, 1958), pp. 196-208.

> shall be celebrated; he shall have the office of Bedell in the said Cathedral carrying *Virgam* before the Dean when he shall come to celebrate the divine offices, and also before the other dignitaries when they shall perform the divine offices in the Choir, and shall have for his pay yearly 61. 13 s. 4 d." [10].

It may be, therefore, that we do not yet fully appreciate the office of verger as it was, and particularly as it was at St. Stephen's, where it seems to have been something special to judge from the following injunction for the College of Stoke-by-Clare, Suffolk, in 1526:

> "*Item* injunctem est quod virgiferus faciat et exerceat officium suum in dicto collegio sicut faciunt virgiferi in ecclesia collegiata Sancti Stephani prope Westmonasterium vel collegio de Wyndesour" [11].

Though his position at St. Stephen's adjoining the Royal Palace of Westminster suggests some measure of royal favour, Ludford appears to have been an extremely retiring person, perhaps even ailing as inferred by Grattan Flood. He appears from the few references extant to have been deeply religious and it is quite likely that his creative abilities could not, or were not inclined to, accommodate the religious upheavals of the 1530's. The evidence strongly suggests that all Ludford's works were written before 1535, and that the last twenty years or so of his life were lived in a state of semi-retirement.

Finally Baillie points out that there seems to be no basis for the assertions made by Grattan Flood that Ludford was married in 1535, died in 1541, and that he was a friend of Dr. Cowper. To this list we may add the assertion made by Blom in his article on Dr. Cowper [12] in the recent fifth edition of Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* that he was a friend of "Thomas" Ludford. No Ludford by this name is known, but a John Ludforde is known as the composer of a four-voice Mass *Dame sans pere*, a fragment of which is preserved in the Ratsschulbibliothek, Zwickau [13]. Bukofzer knew of this fragment and seems to have assumed it to be by the same composer as the other works under discussion here [14], but Baillie has succeeded in turning up a "Iohannes Ludforde, clerk" who became a

[10] Appendix VI in F. Ll. Harrison's *Music in Medieval Britain,* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), pp. 438-9.

[11] A. Jessop, ed., *Visitations of the Diocese of Norwich, 1492-1532,* (London, Camden Society, 1888), p. 239.

[12] As distinct from another article on Dr. Cooper, thereby making two men of one.

[13] Described by Professor Gurlitt in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* XIII (1930/31), p. 562.

[14] *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music,* (New York, Norton, 1950), p. 192.

member of the Fraternity of St. Nicholas in 1495, and who, judging by the late fifteenth-century style of the music, may well be the composer of this Mass, and very possibly the father of Nicholas.

But if the biographical evidence remaining to us is sketchy and slight the musical evidence is not. There are, fortunately, remaining intact of Ludford's work four large festal masses, seven ferial masses (with propers), and one *Magnificat*. In addition there are parts of the Sanctus and Agnus Dei of a four-voice Mass *Leroy,* two more masses and five motets incomplete due to missing part-books. It is not an impressive corpus by continental standards perhaps, but especially in view of the fact that it consists exclusively of Latin church music it certainly ranks high among the surviving catalogues of composers in pre-reformation England. Though all his motets are unfortunately incomplete, his collection of eleven complete masses distinguishes him as the most prolific of English mass composers. His nearest rival is Taverner with six complete [15], then Fayrfax, Carver and Sheppard with five complete each.

The key to this perhaps surprising situation lies again in his personality, of which we know so little. As we have seen, Ludford appears to have been a retiring personality, not widely known, and his works accordingly do not seem to have been widely circulated. All his surviving works are contained in six manuscripts and fragments, with a record of a seventh now lost [16]. Of these, two sources alone provide us with the texts of his eleven complete masses. Such a concentration of music suggests a high local reputation. Such a concentration of music can also provide an object-lesson for the old maxim about the unwisdom of all the eggs being placed in one basket. While it is a wonderful thing to have all Ludford's festal masses in one great choirbook, it is a sad frustration to be deprived of two masses and four motets by the loss of the tenor part-book to the incomparable Peterhouse set.

There are current at the moment four different listings of the extant music of Nicholas Ludford. Unfortunately, none is perfect; each is marred by some inaccuracy or inaccuracies, in some instances only minor, in others more serious. Since two of the most faulty of the catalogues are those presented in the two most celebrated and widely-used of musical reference

[15] Taverner's *Mater Christi* and *Small Devotion* Masses (both "derived" masses) are both lacking the tenor voice, though both were published in *Tudor Church Music* Vol. I with conjectural editorial additions.

[16] As compared with twenty-seven sources for the music of Fayrfax. See Hughes, "An Introduction to Fayrfax", *Musica Disciplina* VI (1952), pp. 89-94, and Warren, *op. cit.,* p. 148 (fn. 106). But see also Harrison, *op. cit.,* p. 329 (fn. 2).

works [17], it seems a matter of some importance to try once more to give a strict accounting of his work:

I. The great Lambeth Choirbook (London, Archiepiscopal Library Ms 1) contains two masses by Ludford, both anonymous here, but identifiable from their reoccurrence in the Caius Ms. They are:

1. Mass *Benedicta* (à 6) ff. 25v/26
2. Mass *Lapidaverunt Stephanum* (à 5) ff. 87v/88

II. The famous Caius College Choirbook (Cambridge, Caius Ms 667 — since 1947 on deposit in the University Library) contains in addition to the two already mentioned (which begin here on pages 48/49 and 80/81 respectively):

3. Mass *Christi Virgo* (à 5) pp. 18/19
4. Mass *Videte Miraculum* (à 6) [18] pp. 32/33
5. Magnificat *Benedicta* (à 6) [19] pp. 136/137

III. The set of four part-books, London, British Museum Mss Royal Appendix 45-48, is entirely devoted to seven [20] ferial masses à 3 by Ludford, set for *alternatim* performance. Roy. App. 45 contains the tenor part, 46 the medius, and 47 the triplex of the polyphonic sections. Roy. App. 48 is the alternating soloist's part, in measured monophony for the Kyrie, Gloria, and Credo movements, but in plainsong for the items of the Proper — Alleluia and Verse, Sequence, Offertory and Communion — which are a most interesting feature of these masses.

	Roy. App.	45	46	47	48
6. *Missa Dominica*	f.	1,	1,	1,	1
7. *Missa feria* ii		11,	11v,	11v,	6v
8. *Missa feria* iii		18,	19v,	20,	10
9. *Missa feria* iv		26,	28v,	28v,	14
10. *Missa feria* v		36,	39v,	39v,	15v
11. *Missa feria* vi		44v,	49v,	48v,	19
12. *Missa Sabato*		54v,	61,	59v,	21

Incomplete works:

IV. The four part-books belonging to the library of Peterhouse, Cambridge, Mss 40 (triplex), 41 (medius), 31 (contratenor), 32 (bass), contain a magnificent collection of Tudor church music whose use is now

[17] Jeffrey Mark in Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* 5th ed., rev. and ed. by Eric Blom, (London, Macmillan, 1954); Hugh Baillie in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart,* ed. F. Blume, (Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1959).

[18] Not à 5 as in Baillie, *Musical Quarterly* (1958), p. 202, and *MGG.*

[19] Ditto.

[20] Not six, as in Flood, *Early Tudor Composers,* p. 74, and *Grove's.*

restricted to study purposes by the lack of the tenor book [21]. They contain seven works by Ludford, only one of which, the five-voice Mass *Christi Virgo* (No. 3 above, beginning here on ff. 57v, 54v, 65, 52), is known from another source. In addition to this mass the Peterhouse books include:

	Peterhouse	40	41	31	32
13. Mass *Inclina Domine*		f. 98v,	90,	110,	85
14. Mass *Regnum mundi*		106,	97,	118,	91v
15. Motet *Salve regina mater misericordie*	triplex wanting		8,	11,	9
16. Motet *Domine Jesu Christe* [22]		85,	78bv,	94v,	77
17. Motet *Ave cuius concepcio*		93,	84v,	104,	80
18. Motet *Ave Maria ancilla Trinitatis*		94,	85v,	105,	81

V. British Museum Harley Ms 1709 is a medius part-book, all that is left of a fine collection of motets and *Stabat maters*. It contains two motets by Ludford [23]: the *Salve regina mater misericordie* which is also found in the Peterhouse books (No. 15 above, beginning here on f. 49v), and

19. Motet *Salve regina pudica mater* [24]

VI. British Museum Additional Ms 30520 is a bifolium from a large choirbook which contains part of the Gloria and Credo of a Mass *Sancte Cuthberte* by Thomas Ashwell and part of the Sanctus and Agnus Dei of Ludford's

20. Mass *Leroy* (à 4) [25] f. 2

VII. In addition to these musical remnants we have one source to tell us of other works by Ludford once extant. This is a fragment of parchment found serving as the fly-leaf of a printed book in the library of Merton College, Oxford. It has now been removed from the binding and remounted on the new fly-leaf of the book which bears the classmark 62. f. 8. It is the index to a triplex part-book of early sixteenth-century polyphony, three works [26] by Ludford being listed:

[21] See A. Hughes, *Catalogue of the Musical Manuscripts at Peterhouse, Cambridge,* (Cambridge, University Press, 1953).

[22] Omitted by Baillie in *MGG.*

[23] Baillie in *MGG* lists only one *Salve regina* in Harley 1709.

[24] Not in Peterhouse as stated in *Grove's.*

[25] Jeffrey Mark in *Grove's* mistakenly identifies this fragmentary mass on the *Leroy* theme with the *Missa Dominica* of the set Roy. App. 45-48 (No. 6 in our list) which is also based on the *Leroy* theme and to which the quotation which he cites from Collins actually refers.

[26] In his article in *Musical Quarterly* (*op. cit.*) Baillie said we had no way of knowing whether these works were masses or motets. Indeed, that the items listed should each be contained on so few pages suggested that they were motets, but the fragment having been removed from its binding it is clearly apparent that the contents were disposed in two columns, the one in which Ludford's works appear clearly headed *Missae.*

a. Mass *Tecum principium* ff. 17-19
b. Mass *Requiem eternam* [27] 19-22
c. Mass *Sermone blando* 32

All of the sources of Ludford's music are manuscripts from the reign of Henry VIII, but it is unfortunately impossible to date any of them with any precision. Of the two great choirbooks which contain his festal masses the Lambeth Ms appears to be the earlier. It is commonly dated c. 1510, though all we can state with certainty is that it could not have been copied earlier than 1504 since the second of its masses is *O quam glorifica* by Fayrfax, over which is written "for his form in proceding to be Doctor". Fayrfax was granted his D. Mus. at Cambridge in 1504. The manuscript is written predominantly in black-full notation, but it is not unified in this respect. One piece in the middle of the manuscript is copied in black-void or white notation. In some pieces imperfection is indicated by the use of white notes, in others by red. The manuscript as a whole does not present a very unified appearance and it seems to me not entirely sure that it is all the work of one hand.

The Caius choirbook, on the other hand, is obviously a fair copy, completely unified in execution, the work and eventually the lavish gift of one man, who inscribed in gold letters on the last page of the volume *"Ex dono et opere Edwardi Higgonis huius ecclesie canonis"*. Following the lead of W. H. Frere [28] Baillie believes these two choirbooks to be by the same hand. While this must certainly be considered a possibility, I cannot accept the assertion with complete confidence. One notices, of course, the similarity in size of these two volumes, the community of repertoire which extends to five masses and a Magnificat by Fayrfax and two masses by Ludford, the at least superficial similarity of illuminatory devices, such as the badge of the Garter which occurs in both books. But against this one must weigh in consideration that no less a paleographic authority than Montague R. James [29] failed to follow Frere's conclusion and apparently considered parts of the Eton choirbook as similar in execution to the Lambeth Ms as the Caius Ms. Then too among the many masses of the Lambeth Ms only the above-mentioned doctoral exercise is identified by composer, whereas all the works of the Caius Ms have attributions, though admittedly this could be seen as the difference between a rough personal copy and a fine presentation copy. As for the illumination of the two manuscripts, there are undoubtedly features in common, and some more convincing to my eye

[27] I prefer this reading to *Regnum mundi* which was Baillie's first choice, *Musical Quarterly,* (*op. cit.*), p. 203.

[28] *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica,* (London, B. Quaritch, 1901), Vol. I, p. 4.

[29] M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College,* (Cambridge, University Press, 1907-8), Vol. II, pp. 663-4.

than the device of the Garter, in particular the initial "E" which is sometimes used for *"Et in terra"* in both Mss, and is constructed from two "E's" back to back and bound by two hoops one above the other as if to disguise a royal monogram "H8", though the use of an Arabic numeral in such a context would be unusual [30]. Also the feathery, vine-like marginal decoration the tendrils of which seem to be casting off round seeds of varying sizes seems a point of similarity between the manuscripts, as does the appearance of the blunt little figures engaged in domestic activities which are numerous in the Caius Ms but very few in the Lambeth Ms, as well as the mermaid looking in a hand-mirror which appears in both Mss. Though hardly conclusive evidence these points of similarity in the illuminations of the two manuscripts do strongly recommend the one hand theory. But it should be remembered that for an undertaking of the dimensions of these huge books the illuminator and the copyist could very well have been different persons, and the musical handwriting does not seem as convincingly similar, let alone unmistakably identical [31]. Surely the most that can be claimed at the present time is the possibility of a common authorship, not the certainty.

But whether or not the Lambeth Ms was copied by Canon Higgons there seems no reason to doubt the inscription which states that he performed the considerable labour of preparing the Caius Ms and that he gave it to his church. All this actually tells us with certainty is that it dates after Fayrfax's D. Mus. in 1504 and before 1538, the date of Higgons' death. Nevertheless, Higgons is by no means unknown and it is possible to conjecture further. He was made a canon of St. Stephen's Westminster in 1518, but he also held prebends at Chichester (from 1521) and Lincoln (from 1533). St. Stephen's Westminster certainly seems the most likely destination for such a magnificent volume of music, including as it does four large masses by a musician of that establishment. However, the possibility that the church referred to in Higgons' inscription is Lincoln Cathedral has also been put forward and needs to be considered. In this connection I should like to call attention to the illumination of the initial "D" of *Dei* in Ludford's Mass *Videte miraculum,* Caius Ms p. 44. Here we see

[30] A photograph of a page of the Gloria from Ludford's Mass *Benedicta,* (Caius Ms 667, p. 48) showing this initial (and two other initials with miniatures) is accessible in Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect,* (*op. cit.*), p. 123.

[31] See also Grattan Flood, "Edward Higgons", Chapter XXXI in his *Early Tudor Composers,* p. 116, where he asserts that "other experts are not of the same way of thinking" as Frere on the similarity of handwriting in the two manuscripts, and goes on to relate that "the tradition of Lambeth is that the Manuscript came from St. Albans Abbey, and that the scribe was none other than Dr. Fayrfax himself, whose excercise for his Mus. Doc. is included therein". There is no supporting evidence for this tradition, though the superscription on the one mass alone is a matter of curiosity.

the figure of a man whom James described [32] as playing a tabor. I see it rather as a man with sleeves rolled up stirring with a long spoon in a saucepan which he holds in his left hand [33]. It is, it seems to me, an obvious pun on the name "John Coke" which appears faintly in the background of the initial. Who the John Coke so whimsically immortalized by Higgons was it is impossible to say, since John Coke (or Cook, Cooke, Cuk) was a common name. There was a John Cooke, sub-provost of Lincoln in 1520, but there was also a John Cook who was Master of the Fraternity of St. Nicholas in 1501 [34]. Whether or not the church which received Higgons' handsome gift was Lincoln Cathedral, of which he was canon (though apparently not a resident canon) [35] from 1533, it does not seem likely that the manuscript could have been written as late as that. It is, of course, very difficult to put a fine point on it, but certainly the black-full notation of the manuscript would be a late instance even for England at that date. One looks in vain for other clues; the other names occurring in the manuscript all seem to be in later hands: William Crow, who gave the book to his old College (presumably Caius) in 1665, Ralph ffox, whose name occurs on p. 74, and ffrancis ffox, who signed his name next to Higgons' final inscription [36]. It seems unlikely, despite the coincidence, that they can have any connection with the two initials on p. 93 (again initial "D's" in the Agnus Dei of a Ludford mass, *Lapidaverunt*) the first of which depicts a fox in habit with a crook or crozier and entitled "Ffryer ffoxe". Below it, the next initial comprises a banner on which is written "the foxe is next kynne to a ffrye". But if not, what can we make of it? Is it too much to

[32] James, *op. cit.*, p. 664.

[33] There is a figure in a somewhat similar attitude in the Lambeth Ms f. 71.

[34] See H. Baillie, "A London Guild of Musicians, 1460-1530", *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* LXXXIII (1956/57), p. 22.

[35] *Chapter Acts of the Cathedral Church of St. Mary of Lincoln A.D. 1520-1536,* The Lincoln Record Society, Vol. 12, (1915), pp. xii-xiii. Baillie (*Musical Quarterly* (1958) p. 198) gives 1534 as the date of Higgons' appointment as a prebend at Lincoln, however that installation was held on 10 May, 1533 (*Chapter Acts, op. cit.*, p. 165). It may be, however, that our man should rather be identified with the Edward Hygons, L.L.D., who was Master of Arundel College (ten miles from Chichester) in 1534, and who, still there in 1543, must be distinct from the Lincoln Higgons (d. 1538).

[36] This is not an enigmatic symbol as supposed by Warren in the "Critical Notes" to Volume I of his edition of Fayrfax's *Collected Works* (American Institute of Musicology, 1959). Ffrancis ffox has simply misjudged the space needed in which to sign his name and to avoid running into Higgons' gold writing he has dropped the final "s" of his first name to a lower level where, sitting by itself, Warren has read it as a "5": ffranci / 5 / ffox. Could Ralph and Francis ffox be of the family of the Robert ffoxe who became Master of the Choristers at Westminster Abbey in 1542, and who may have acquired the valuable manuscript in the plundering which followed the edicts of church reform?

see in "Ffryer ffoxe" a pun on the name "Ffeyrefox" in a spelling which was certainly one of those current at that time? [37]

The set of four part-books Roy. App. 45-48 are no easier to date. Their leather covers are stamped with the arms of Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon, so we can conclude they were copied between the dates of their marriage in 1509 and divorce in 1533. Since the divorce was in the wind from 1527, and their establishments separate from 1531, we are surely safe in supposing that if the set were prepared as a compliment to the royal pair as a couple it must certainly have been prior to 1531, and probably before 1527. A set of books devoted exclusively to the works of one composer is a real rarity among English manuscripts, and these may well be holograph, perhaps presented by Ludford to the royal couple in gratitude for some preferment such as his appointment to the royal college of St. Stephen's Westminster.

Two names stand out as special colleagues among Ludford's contemporaries: Fayrfax and Ashwell. Setting aside the exclusively Ludford set, Fayrfax occurs in five of the other six compilations cited above, and would almost certainly be found among the pages of B.M. Add. 30520 if more of them remained. Ashwell is not found in the Lambeth or Caius sources, but he is represented in Harley 1709 (with two works), in Add. 30520, and the Merton index lists a Mass "God save King Herry" which is presumably the one by Ashwell. In view of this one cannot help wondering why that other great source of early Tudor masses, the Forrest-Heyther books (Oxford, Bodleian Library Mus. Sch. e 376-81), though it includes four masses by Fayrfax and two by Ashwell, contains none by Ludford. What can have been its origin that it could overlook him? Was his reputation really so modest or was there another basis for inclusion? It is true that except for Taverner all the composers in the collection of whom anything is known were Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, which Ludford was not. The later history at least of the books seems to find them at Windsor in the hands of John Baldwin, and then William Heather, founder of the Heather Professorship of Music in the University of Oxford, who gave them to his University in 1626. Whatever the reason, it is sure that his failure to be represented in this collection condemned Ludford to another century of

[37] In the bede-roll of the Fraternity of St. Nicholas, for instance (see Baillie, "London Guild of Musicians"). It must be confessed that the idea that these initial decorations contain puns on contemporary composers' names, once accepted, can lead farther and farther into irresponsible fantasy, so that in the figure of the gentleman in large horn-rimmed spectacles who waves gaily as he crosses a bridge (on p. 48: see fn. 30 above) we might recognize William Brydgeman; in the sturdy fellow carrying a wine-cask John Taverner and in the chap inspecting the inside of a barrel (p. 96) Dr. Robert Cowper, and so on.

oblivion since it was on this collection that Burney based most of his judgements of Tudor music.

Let us turn now briefly to an examination of the works themselves, not, indeed, for an analytic discussion which the present writer intends in a further study, but for a descriptive survey of their content and format and for a general acquaintance with obvious interesting, remarkable and puzzling aspects of Ludford's works.

First, the four festal masses:

These are splendid examples of the full, rich, flowing, sonorous writing which characterized the large-scale masses of the English tradition at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Like all English festal masses they consist of four movements only (the Kyrie not being set polyphonically). All are *cantus firmus* masses: *Lapidaverunt Stephanum* (the only extant English Mass of St. Stephen) is based on an antiphon for the Feast of St. Stephen [38], *Christi virgo* is based on a respond for the Feast of the Annunciation [39], *Videte miraculum* on a respond for the Feast of the Purification [40] and *Benedicta* on the verse *Benedicta et venerabilis es* of the respond *Beata es virgo* for the Feast of the Assumption [41]. Ludford does not depend solely on the *cantus firmus* to give his masses unity, however, as all employ a motto opening for each movement which is not related to the *cantus firmus*. The *cantus firmus* is usually associated with sections for full chorus, generally, though not invariably, to be found in the tenor voice, and Ludford tends to favour a fairly integrated use of the *cantus firmus*. Though there is much of interest in these big masses, their organization and presentation is quite straightforward and need not hold us at this time.

The *Magnificat* contained in the Caius manuscript, however, deserves a close look. In the English tradition it is an *alternatim* setting presenting polyphony only for the even-numbered verses. Also a mark of English origin is the abandonment of the traditional *Magnificat* tones as the source of the *cantus firmus,* a freedom widely enjoyed for some time by English composers but rarely (if ever) encountered on the Continent. Even in this respect Ludford is exceptional though, for he has here used as *cantus firmus* a completely unrelated liturgical chant, and it is the same *cantus firmus* as

[38] *Antiphonale Sarisburiense,* ed. W. H. Frere, (London, Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 1901-25), pl. 60.

[39] *Antiphonale Sarisburiense,* pl. 419. The plainsong as used by Ludford deviates very slightly from the Sarum version as given in this source.

[40] *Antiphonale Sarisburiense,* pl. 395-6. An unusual feature of this mass is the use of the respond *Videte miraculum* as the *cantus firmus* of the first three movements and of the verse *Hec speciosum* of this respond as the *cantus firmus* of the Agnus Dei.

[41] *Antiphonale Sarisburiense,* pl. 497.

for his Mass *Benedicta.* He has done more than give the pair a *cantus firmus* to share; he has given them a parody relationship by using polyphonic material in common [42]. In view of the fact that, contrary to usual English practice of beginning the *Magnificat* in full texture, Ludford's *Magnificat* opens in three-voice counterpoint in the manner usual for mass beginnings, it is quite possible that the *Magnificat* is derived from the mass rather than *vice versa.* The composition of *Magnificat*-mass pairs or motet-mass pairs or even motet-mass-*Magnificat* cycles is a curious innovation of English composers of this period the musico-liturgical significance of which has not yet been explained [43].

The uniqueness of the set of seven ferial masses gives rise to many more questions and problems. These seven masses comprise the only complete English weekly cycle of votive Masses of the Virgin and constitute a musical and liturgical inheritance of extraordinary significance. That they are Lady-masses there can be no doubt. The items of the Proper of the Mass which Ludford has set day by day leave no question as to their function. The evidence is much clearer and more orderly than as arranged by Baillie [44] however, for the sequence of Alleluya-verses as presented by Ludford in these masses follows exactly the order appointed for daily Masses of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Lady Chapel from Purification (February 2) to Advent in the Sarum *Missal* of 1526 [45]. Similarly the order of Sequences as Ludford uses them conforms exactly to the order in which the 1526 *Missal* prescribes them for the daily Lady-mass throughout the Octave of the Assumption, with the Octave itself (August 22) falling on the Sunday.

As has been stated the seven masses of this set are of the type known as *alternatim,* that is, the successive statements of the text are presented

[42] There appears to be a relationship also between the opening measures of Ludford's Mass *Inclina Domine* and his motet *Ave Maria ancilla Trinitatis,* both of which are to be found, minus the tenor, in the Peterhouse set of books. It is possible that these two works comprise a pair but the *cantus firmus* is absent. Dom Anselm Hughes has abstracted a theme, from observing its occurrence eleven times in the other voice parts of the mass, which he has succeeded in fitting intermittently into the texture as a tenor, but no relationship to any *Inclina Domine* plainsong can be discovered in it. There appears also to be a derivative relationship between Cornysh's *Magnificat* and Fayrfax's *Magnificat Regali* which follow one another in the Caius Ms.

[43] It can be seen also in the *Gaude flore,* Mass *Regali, Magnificat Regali* cycle of Fayrfax and also in his *O bone Jesu* cycle, motet, mass and *Magnificat.*

[44] *Musical Quarterly* (1958), p. 207.

[45] The Alleluya-verse of the *Missa Dominica* is correctly *Optine sacris* not *Optimam partem* as in Baillie, *Ibid.* p. 204. Similarly, on p. 207 the verse for feria ii should be *Post partum ... pro nobis,* for feria iii, *Ora pro nobis ... pro nobis peccatoribus ora,* for feria vi, *Salve virgo ... et domina,* for *Sabato, Virga Iesse.*

alternately by a soloist-leader and a polyphonic group [46]. Ludford is apparently following a well-established tradition, represented in England by such earlier settings as the Kyrie by Horwood and two Gloria-Credo pairs among the so-called "York" masses, and the Mass *Rex summe* by Thomas Packe [47], in which the Kyrie, Gloria and Credo movements are set *alternatim* while the Sanctus and Agnus Dei are invariably left polyphonic throughout [48].

The soloist's material for the Kyries, Glorias and Credos (contained in Roy. App. 48) is quite unusual as *alternatim* material — in fact, so unusual is it that it was not recognized as such when the British Museum *Catalogue of Manuscript Music* was drawn up, wherein the fourth book is listed as for second-tenor voice but "apparently incomplete". *Alternatim* settings are not rare but in nearly all cases the soloist's part is sung plainsong or organ settings written or to be improvised on appropriate plainsong material. The Ludford masses, to be sure, provide the soloist with plainsong for the items of the Proper — Alleluya and verse, Sequence, Offertory and Communion — but for the three movements of the Ordinary the soloist is given a tenor part in mensural notation, and this mensural monophony also provides the *cantus firmus* for the succeeding passages of polyphony. *Alternatim* passages in measured monophony are very rare and so far as I am aware all instances are of English origin. Besides these by Ludford I know of only the examples in the fascinating Pepysian Ms 1236 (Magdalene College, Cambridge) [49].

Before we go on to consider the puzzling matter of how these *alternatim* passages were performed let us look at the extremely interesting themes themselves as they are set out in the soloist's part-book Roy. App. 48:

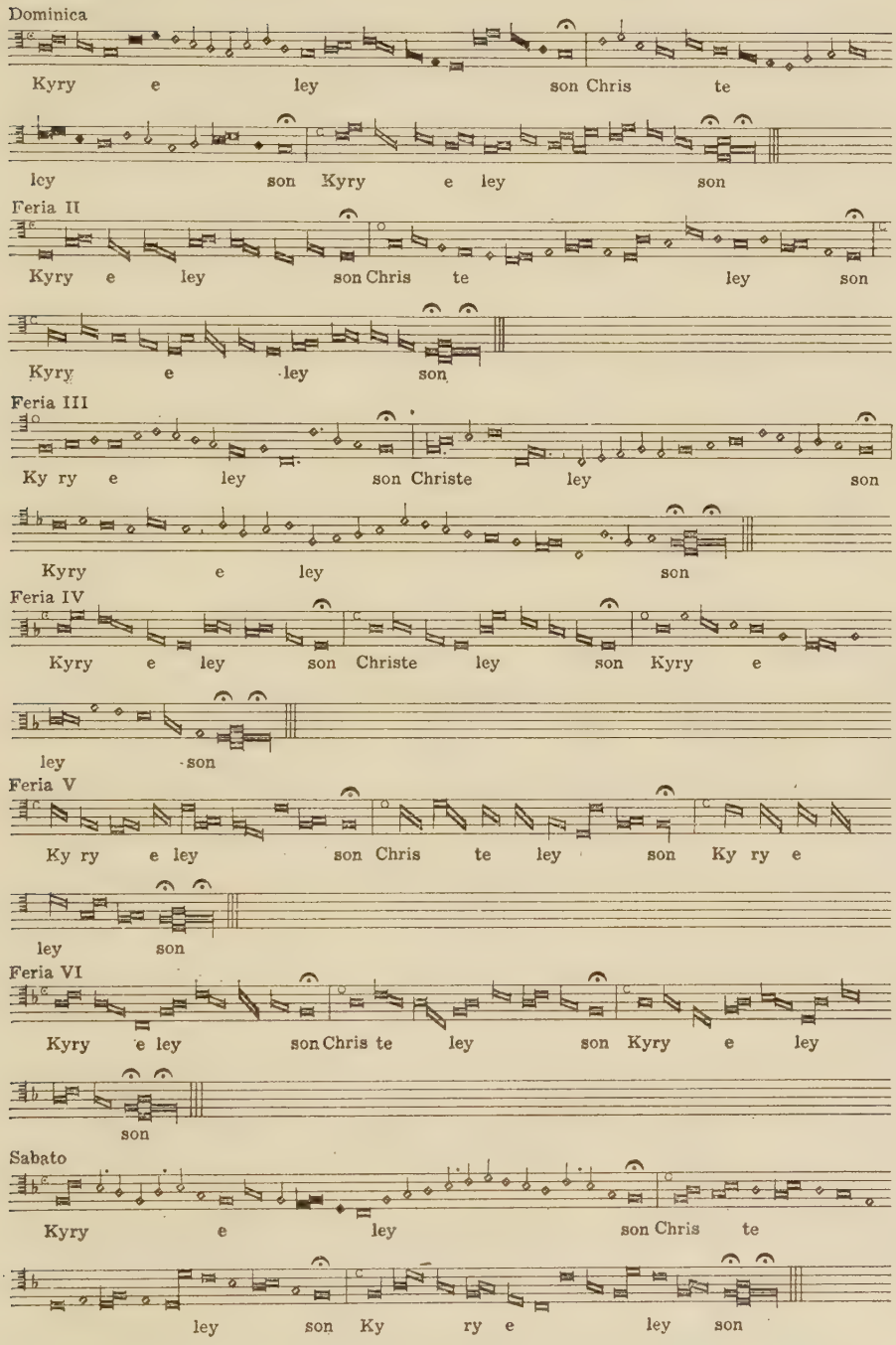
[46] For a brief review of *alternatim* mass settings see Baillie and Oboussier, "The York Masses", *Music & Letters* XXXV (1954), pp. 25-6.

[47] British Museum Add. Ms 5665.

[48] Not, as Denis Stevens says in his *Tudor Church Music* (New York, Merlin Press, 1955), p. 44, "... Ludford (who sets all the movements in *alternatim* style) ..."

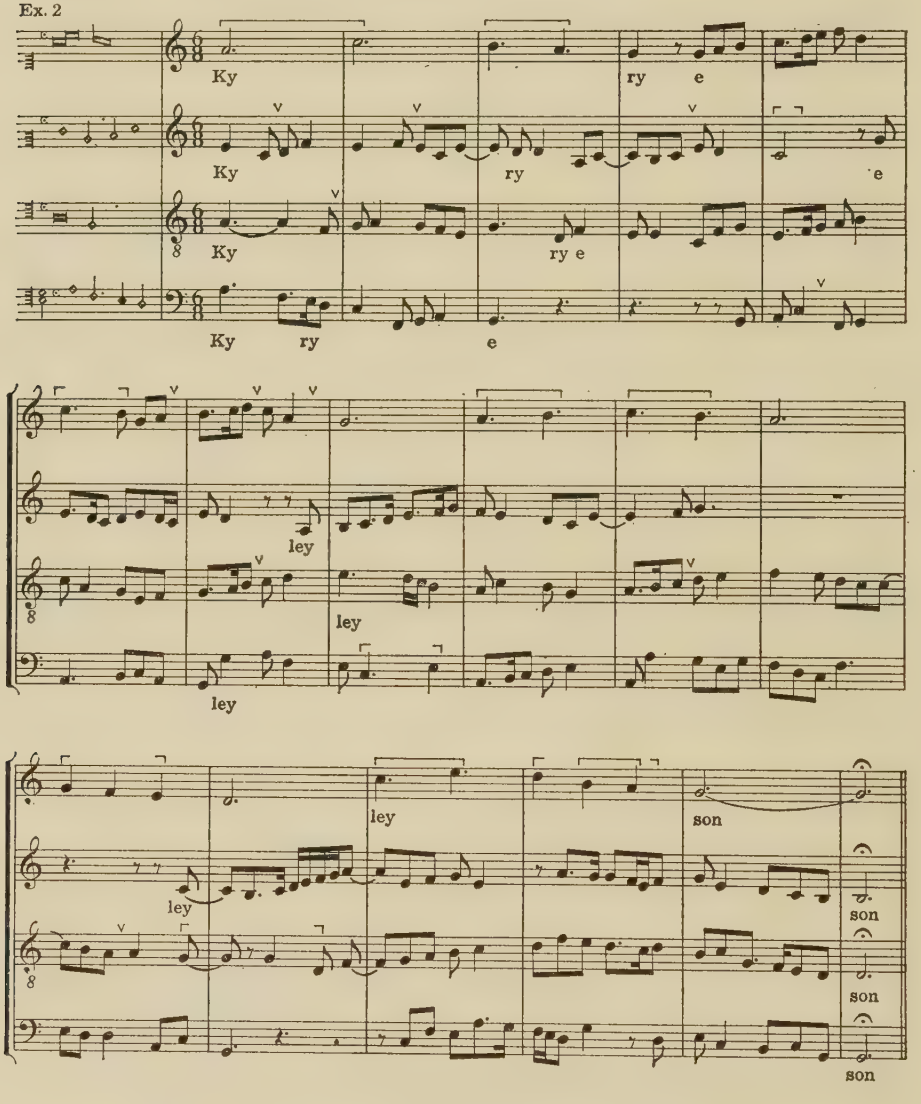
[49] This Ms is fully described by Dr. Frank Ll. Harrison in a forthcoming article, "Music for the Sarum Rite: Ms 1236 in the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge", *Annales Musicologiques* V-VI (1960).

Ex. 1


Dominica
Kyry e ley son Chris te
ley son Kyry e ley son
Feria II
Kyry e ley son Chris te ley son
Kyry e ley son
Feria III
Ky ry e ley son Christe ley son
Kyry e ley son
Feria IV
Kyry e ley son Christe ley son Kyry e
ley son
Feria V
Ky ry e ley son Chris te ley son Ky ry e
ley son
Feria VI
Kyry e ley son Chris te ley son Kyry e ley
son
Sabato
Kyry e ley son Chris te
ley son Ky ry e ley son

In his pioneering paper before the Musical Association in 1916 H. B. Collins noted that the *Missa Dominica* of the present three-voice set was based on the same theme as that used by Taverner in his Kyrie *Leroy* [50] (Ex. 2) and Ludford himself in the fragmentary four-voice Mass *Leroy* [51]. He expressed a great curiosity to know the origin of the melody and the reference of its title. His query was the obvious one: did it relate to the Roy Henry of the Old Hall manuscript?

Ex. 2



[50] British Museum Add. Mss 17802-5. See *Tudor Church Music* (London, Oxford University Press, 1922-29), Vol. III, pp. 54-5.

[51] British Museum Add. Ms 30520.

In the course of the same paper Collins expressed curiosity concerning the designation "Apon the Square" borne by a succession of three masses, one by William Whytbroke and two by William Mundy, contained in the famous Gyffard part-books, British Museum Add. Mss 17802-5, which also contain the Taverner *Leroy* Kyrie. The name apparently did not refer to a *cantus firmus* shared by the three masses; Barclay Squire concluded that it referred to the fact that these were four-voice masses, but Collins was led to speculate that

> "Each movement is divided into short sections separated by full closes, these sections being sung by three of the voices only, the four being only employed together (as a rule) in the concluding section of each movement. It is obvious that if each of the four voices takes its turn to rest there are four possible combinations of the remaining three voices. Expressed in figures the combinations will be 1 2 3, 1 2 4, 1 3 4, 2 3 4. I suggest that the four combinations are the four sides of the square" [52].

Collins failed to realize that the tantalizing mystery of these two enigmatic titles might be related. An important clue to the puzzle which he missed is that the Kyrie of Whytbroke's Mass "Apon the Square" [53] (Ex. 3) shares a *cantus firmus* with Ludford's feria ii mass.

Ex. 3

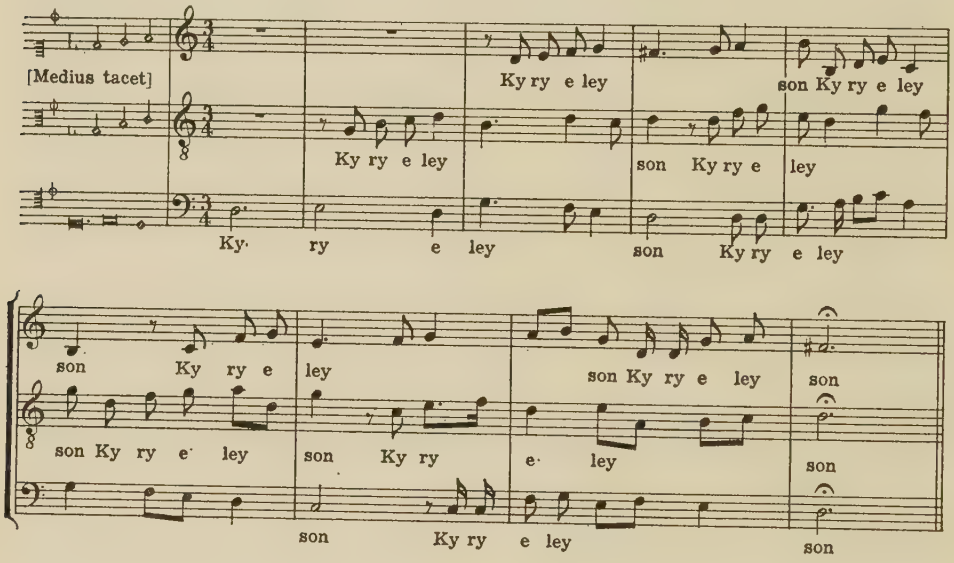
The next step in the solution we owe to the sharp eyes of Manfred Bukofzer for it was he who drew attention to the fact that one of the set of melodies found on the flyleaves bound up with a Sarum Gradual in the

[52] *Proceedings of the Musical Association* XXXIX (1912-13), p. 66.
[53] British Museum Add. Mss 17802-5.

British Museum (Lansdowne Ms 462, ff. 151v-152, reproduced herewith [54] as Plates I and II) is the *Leroy* theme [55]. It will be seen on Plate I, fifth stave from the bottom of the page, designated *Dominica die*.

But not even Bukofzer guessed the full significance of his discovery for not only is the *Leroy* theme used by Taverner and Ludford amongst these melodies but so is the *cantus firmus* of Ludford's feria v mass (Plate I, fourth stave from the top of the page) [56], and so are the *cantus firmi* of the Kyries of William Mundy's two Masses "Apon the Square" [57] (Plate I, third stave from the top and third stave from the bottom of the page respectively).

Ex. 4 a



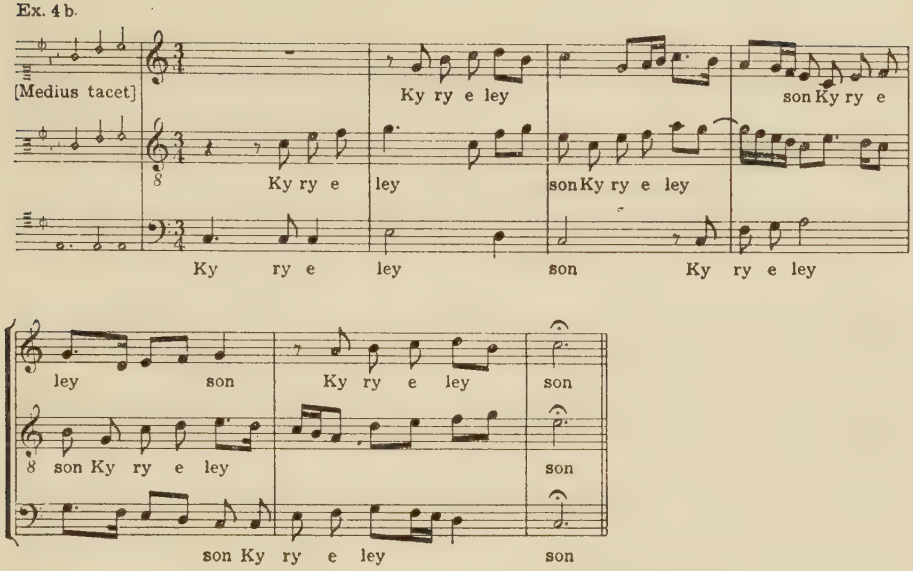
[54] By kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

[55] *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music*, p. 192.

[56] It is interesting to note that though the theme is here designated *Dominica die* it follows a sequence of themes for ferias 2, 3, 4, occupying the position one would expect for feria 5, as Ludford uses it.

[57] British Museum Add. Mss 17802-5.

Ex. 4 b.


[Medius tacet]
Ky ry e ley
son Ky ry e
Ky ry e
ley
son Ky ry e ley
Ky ry e ley son Ky ry e ley
ley son Ky ry e ley son
son Ky ry e ley son
son Ky ry e ley son

Here too is the *cantus firmus* shared by Ludford in his feria ii mass and Whytbroke in the Kyrie of his Mass "Apon the Square", noted above (Plate II, second stave, followed by the name "Dunstaple") [58].

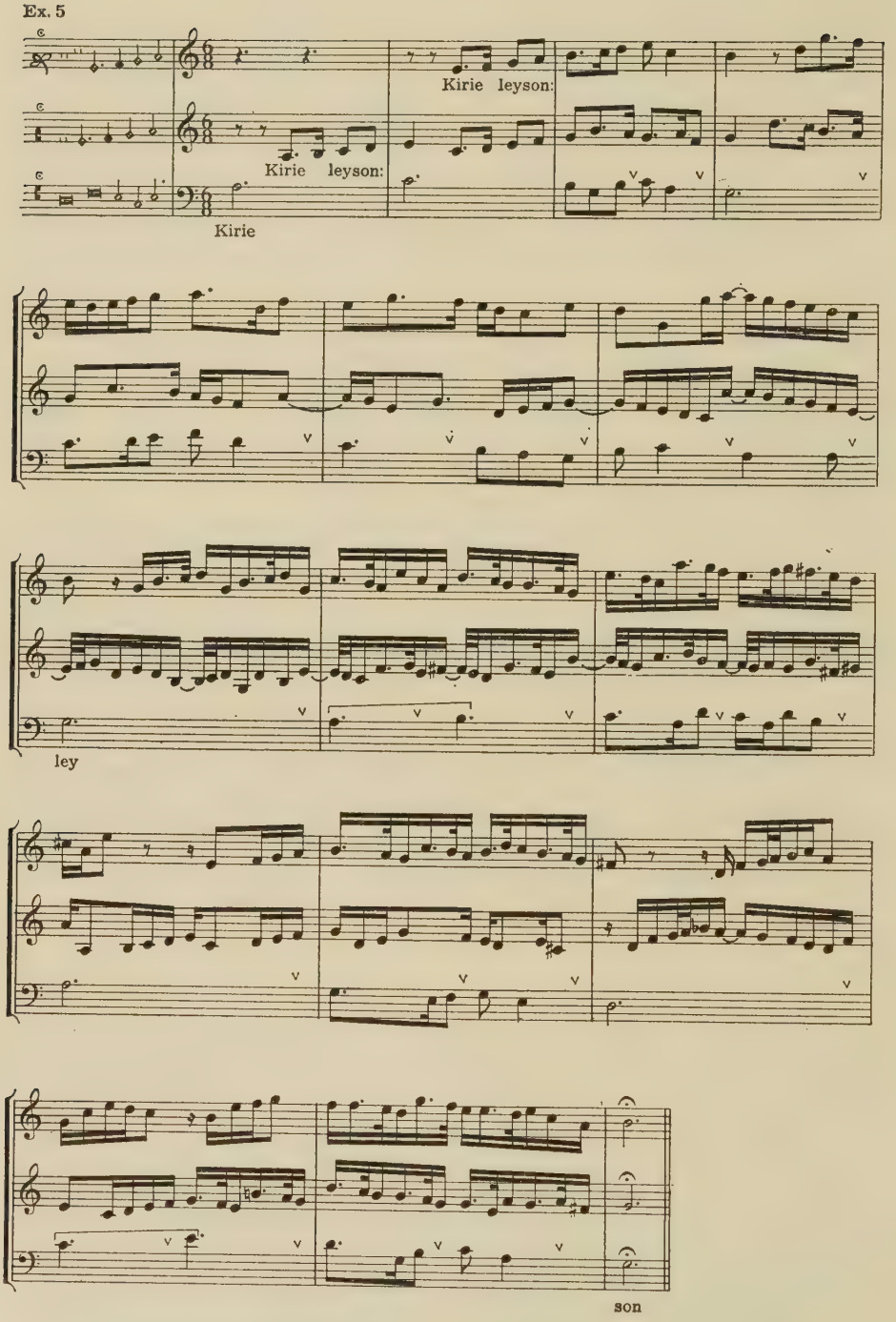
These are by no means all the concordances for Ludford's interesting set of themes [59]. The Christe of his feria iii mass shares a theme with Taverner's three Christes [60], and two anonymous Kyries for three voices in the so-called commonplace book of John Baldwin of Windsor (British Museum Roy. Mus. Ms 24 d 2, dating from the end of the sixteenth century) are on *cantus firmi* from the Landsdowne manuscript pages, very much decorated, one (ff. 116-7) the theme for feria iii (Plate I, second stave) and the other (f. 118) yet again the *Leroy* theme! (Ex. 5).

[58] Noted by Bukofzer in his early study "Über Leben und Werken von John Dunstable", *Acta Musicologica* VIII (1936), pp. 102-118, and printed as No. 65 in his edition of Dunstable's *Complete Works,* Musica Britannica VIII (London, Stainer and Bell, 1953).

[59] My own work has been primarily concerned with identifying the *cantus firmi* of Ludford's masses. In addition Bukofzer recognized some relationships between a similar set of Sanctus melodies on a front fly-leaf, f. iv, of Lansdowne Ms 462 and parts of polyphonic Sanctus in the Old Hall and Fountains Abbey Mss (see *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music,* pp. 39, 92). There is much more to this subject still, and we look forward to the long-promised full study of these widely-used themes by Jeremy Noble and Hugh Baillie.

[60] British Museum Add. Ms. 18936, 7, 9; printed in *Tudor Church Music* III, pp. 56-7.

Ex. 5



What is the significance of all this? Taken in conjunction with some contemporary account book entries to which attention has recently been called by Harrison [61] in which sums of money have been paid for the "prykkyng of squaris", the theory is tentatively put forward by Jeremy Noble, among others, that these flyleaves of Kyrie and Sanctus melodies are among the few remaining pages of just such collections of "squares" as were "pricked" and paid for in 1532 at Magdalen College, Oxford, for instance, for which the account book entries read: "Bull, pro le prykkyng unam missam et square in scripto gradali ... vis. iiiid. Bull et Norwych, pro prykkyng of squaris in 12 gradalibus in capella ... xvis" [62]. It then becomes clear that the individual melodies or themes are the "squares", perhaps due to the shape of the notation, and that a mass on any of these themes is, in fact, a Mass "Apon the Square". However, as we can see on these pages, certain "squares" are apparently associated with particular composers: Martyn on f. 151v, Lyonel and Dunstaple on f. 152. Three of these themes occur also in a manuscript in the Vatican Library (Reg. lat. 1146, ff. 72v-73) which is primarily concerned with music theory and which Handschin thought to be of English origin. The melodies occur there without their Kyrie text and Handschin took them to be instrumental dance melodies, but Bukofzer pointed out [63] that they are identical with three of the monophonic Kyries of Lansdowne Ms 462 f. 151v (Plate I, ferias *sexta, quarta,* and the second *Dominica die*). Of these three melodies the first is accompanied by the name Lambertus and the third by Leroy. If, indeed, these names are the names of the composers to whom the composition of these themes are ascribed (either as monophonic lines or as parts of polyphonic compositions from which they have been borrowed, just as Taverner's Mass *Gloria tibi Trinitas* yielded the *In nomine* theme) then there may indeed be reason to suggest that Leroy Henry of the Old Hall manuscript [64] was the composer of this remarkable melody.

There can be little doubt that these "squares" were particularly associated with, or even provided exclusively for, the daily Lady-mass, which by the fifteenth century had become a matter of wide-spread devotion in England [65]. There can be no doubt either that the collections of "Kyries, Alleluyas and Sequences" listed in early sixteenth-century inventories of

[61] In his encyclopedic *Music in Medieval Britain,* p. 292.

[62] W. D. Macray, ed., *A Register of the Members of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford* new series (London, H. Frowde, 1894-1915), Vol. II, p. 7.

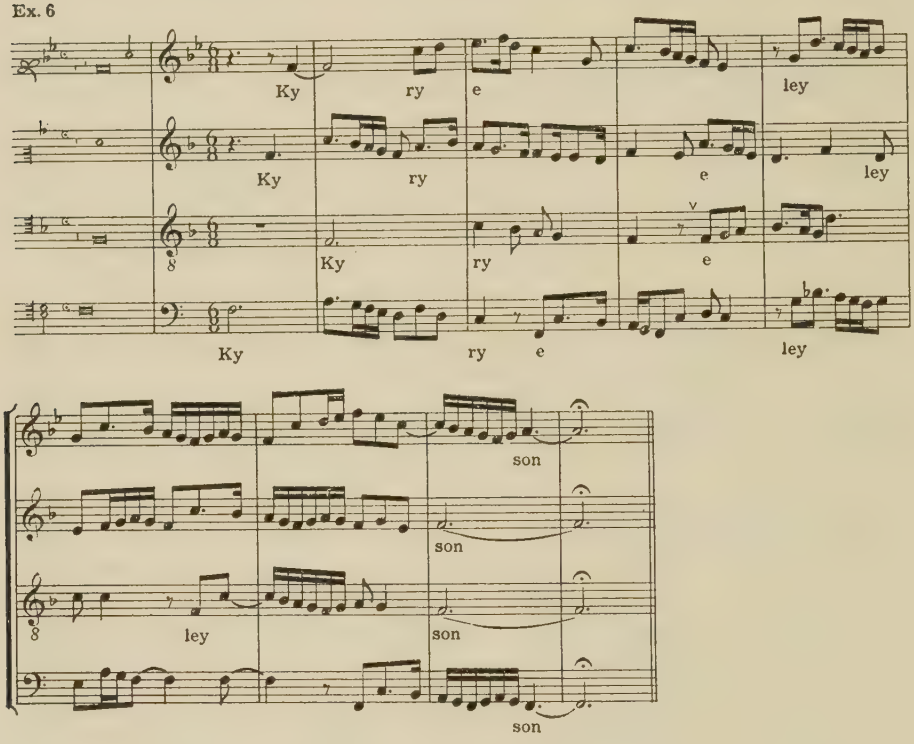
[63] *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music,* pp. 191-2.

[64] Assumed by the editors of the *Old Hall Ms* to be Henry VI, Bukofzer established the more reasonable claim of Henry V. Recently Harrison has argued strongly the case for Henry IV (1399-1413), (*Music in Medieval Britain,* pp. 220-1).

[65] For a discussion of the English Lady-mass see Harrison, *Ibid.,* pp. 77-81.

chapel music [66] refer to special polyphonic music for the daily Lady-mass, and if they remained extant we would surely find numbers of them composed on "squares". The Gyffard collection does, in fact, preserve a number of independent Kyrie settings one of which is the *Leroy* Kyrie by Taverner, already mentioned. Immediately following it in the manuscript is a Kyrie by Hyett (Ex. 6) which also proves to be on a "square" (Plate I, third stave from the bottom of the page, feria v; cf. Ex. 4b above).

Ex. 6



But how were these individual Kyries intended to be used? It is a curious situation — the traditional English mass had no polyphonic Kyrie [67], now we find polyphonic settings of the Kyrie without the rest of the mass, for there are no separate settings of the Sanctus and Agnus Dei to go with the Kyries. We can understand the absence of Glorias and

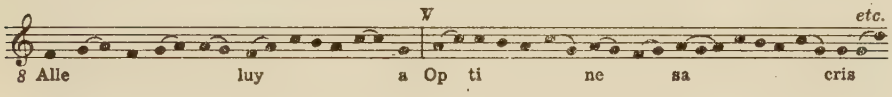
[66] Of Magdalen College, Oxford, and King's College, Cambridge, printed as Appendices III and IV in Harrison, *Ibid.*, pp. 431, 432-3.

[67] One wonders to what Burney had reference when he wrote, following a discussion of the eighteen masses in the Forrest-Heyther collection at Oxford, all of which are without Kyries, "The Movements in Triple Time, of these Old Masters, in which it was the Custom to set the Kyrie of every Mass..." (*A General History*, ed. Mercer, Vol. I, p. 793).

Credos [68] since the Gloria was omitted in Advent and Lent and the Credo on ferias and lesser festivals [69], but one would expect to find settings of the Sanctus and Agnus Dei, especially since there is, as we have already mentioned, a collection of Sanctus "squares" extant also.

How was the soloist's part in Ludford's ferial masses performed? This is another question difficult to provide with a completely convincing answer at this time. The argument in favour of organ improvisation on the measured *cantus firmus* arises immediately on discovery of the absence of most of the verbal text in the soloist's part. Where there is no text no singing can be expected, is the assumption. But the matter is by no means clear. In the Kyries, for example, the complete text, such as it is, is not only present but the syllables are carefully placed in their underlay. This would hardly seem necessary for an instrumental performance. In other places even the incomplete texts are carefully underlaid as far as they go:

Ex. 7 [70]



Then, too, textual incipits sometimes seem unnecessarily substantial if intended merely for the identification of an instrumental section. For example, in the feria iii mass one section carries the text *"Jhesum Christum cum sancto spiritu In gloria dei patris"*; and in feria v, *"Cum sancto spiritum in gloriam dei patris Amen"*. At the end of the Gloria of the *Missa Dominica* we are given the initial words and the last of the final phrase, *"Tu solus . . . Christe"*. In any case it is well known what an inconclusive bit of evidence lack of text is: on the one hand, the memory of these singers must not be underestimated, and on the other, we must be reminded of Morley's com-

[68] It is harder to understand their presence in Ludford's ferial masses, especially the Credos, and especially when we notice that where the treatment is not *alternatim*, as in ferial masses iv and vi in which the Glorias and Credos are polyphonic throughout and hence fully underlaid with text, the Credos are of a type most unusual in English masses, *viz.* settings of the complete Credo text. We might mention further that two of Ludford's four complete festal masses (Nos. 3 and 4 above) and the two incomplete masses (Nos. 13 and 14) also have complete Credo settings.

[69] *The Use of Sarum*, ed. W. H. Frere, 2 Vols., (Cambridge, University Press, 1898-1901), Vol. I, p. 91; Vol. II, p. 150.

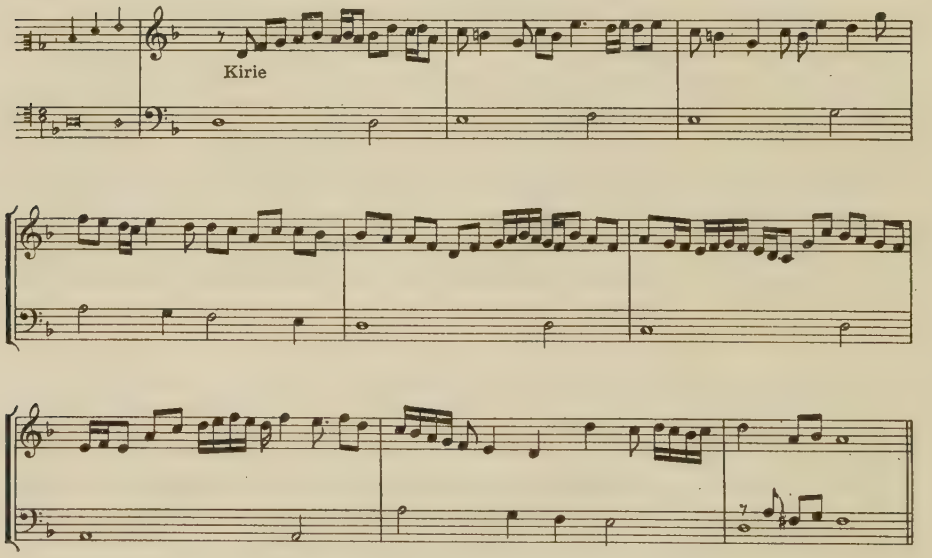
[70] Roy. App. 48, *Missa Dominica.*

plaint that towards the end, at least, of the sixteenth century the music of the mass was frequently vocalized, the words being omitted [71].

Attention has also been called to the concentration of ligatures in the soloist's part "supporting the hypothesis that this is an instrumental book" [72]. This is specious but faulty reasoning since the use of ligatures in the soloist's material derives in most instances directly from the "squares", which have been shown to have distinctly vocal associations, if not origins. The use of ligatures appears simply to reflect an older notation.

However, a strong argument in support of the contention that the alternating part was performed instrumentally is the existence of a short setting for keyboard of a Kyrie and Christe (so-called in the manuscript) based on a "square" — the first Kyrie section of the "square" used by Ludford for his feria iii mass (Ex. 8). The manuscript source (British Museum Ms Roy. App. 56) dates from c. 1530 which makes it approximately contemporary with the Ludford masses. The style is quite free and improvisatory and provides a convincing example of what an organist without too much imagination but a grasp of style might have played in alternation with the choir.

Ex. 8



[71] Morley, *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music* (1597), ed. R. A. Harman, (London, Dent, 1952), p. 293. See also Walker, *History of Music in England,* 3rd rev. ed., ed. J. A. Westrup (London, Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 46.

[72] Baillie, *Musical Quarterly* (1958), pp. 207-8.

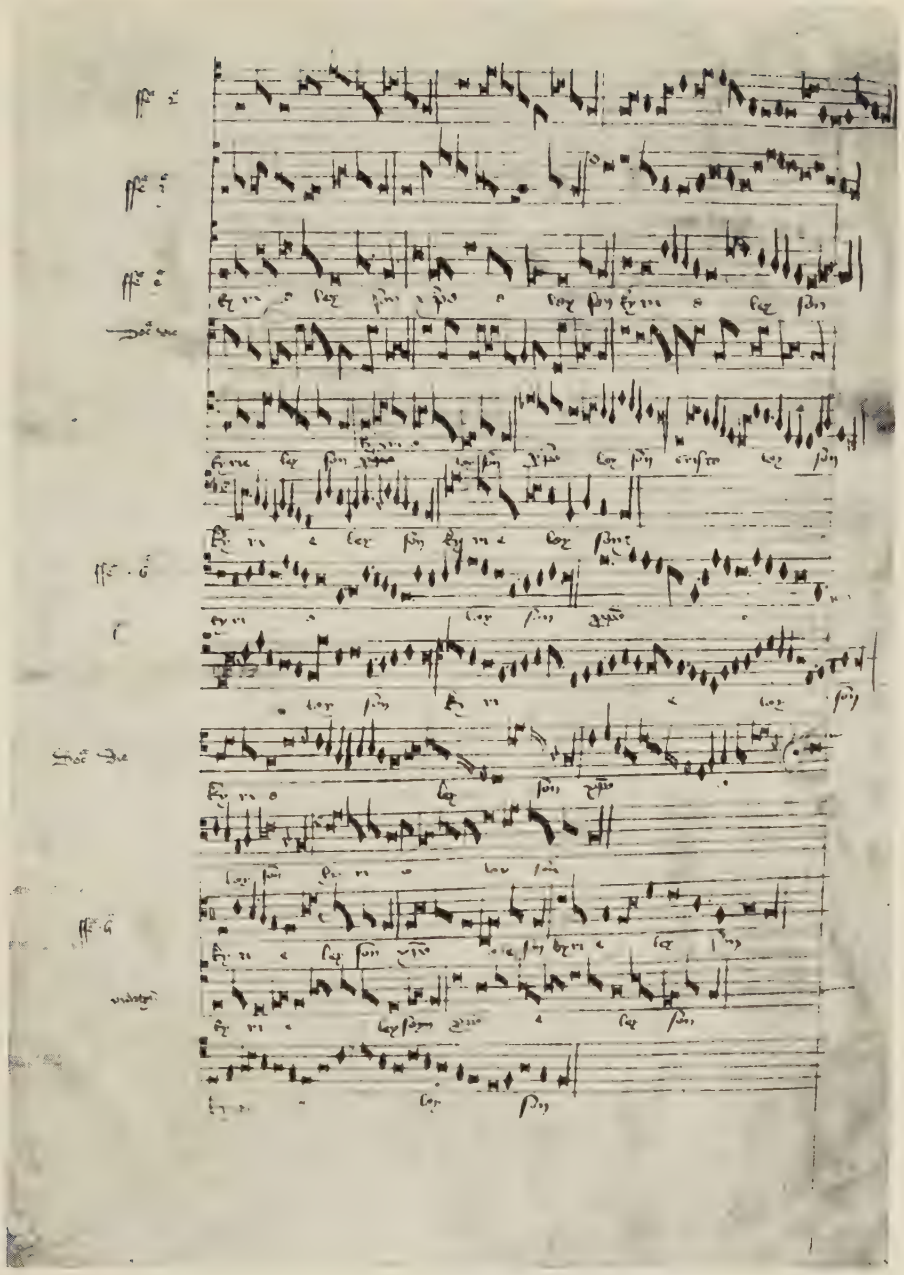


Plate I. British Museum Lansdowne Ms 462, f. 151v

anticipated this suggestion and considers it unlikely. If it could be shown that these tenors were faburdens to a plainchant it might solve another of the liturgical mysteries of these masses: the presence in each of a six-fold [75] rather than a nine-fold Kyrie. It is easy enough to adapt this plan to a nine-fold pattern (in which case I favour the polyphonic section at entries 2, 4, 6, 8) but one is reminded of the Dufay Christe as it appears in the Aosta manuscript [76] where it is clear that "the first Christe should be sung in a three part version, the second in plainchant and the third as faux-bourdon".

It is hoped that enough has been said to demonstrate the extraordinary interest of the work of Nicholas Ludford. Having played Bach to Fayrfax's Handel for four hundred years it is to be hoped that the forthcoming edition of his *Collected Works* will enable him to emerge from his shadowy anonymity to establish with his music his considerable and individual personality [77].

Magdalen College, Oxford.

[75] It should be noted that one of the monophonic Kyries in the Lansdowne Ms is six-fold rather than three-fold as it stands (Plate I, staves five and six).

[76] Described by Bukofzer in "Fauxbourdon Revisited", *Musical Quarterly* XXXVIII (1952), pp. 41-2.

[77] Anyone now working in the field of English medieval music must be conscious of a great debt of gratitude to Dr. Frank Ll. Harrison. I should like to take this opportunity to express my own appreciation of his kind interest and generous counsel.

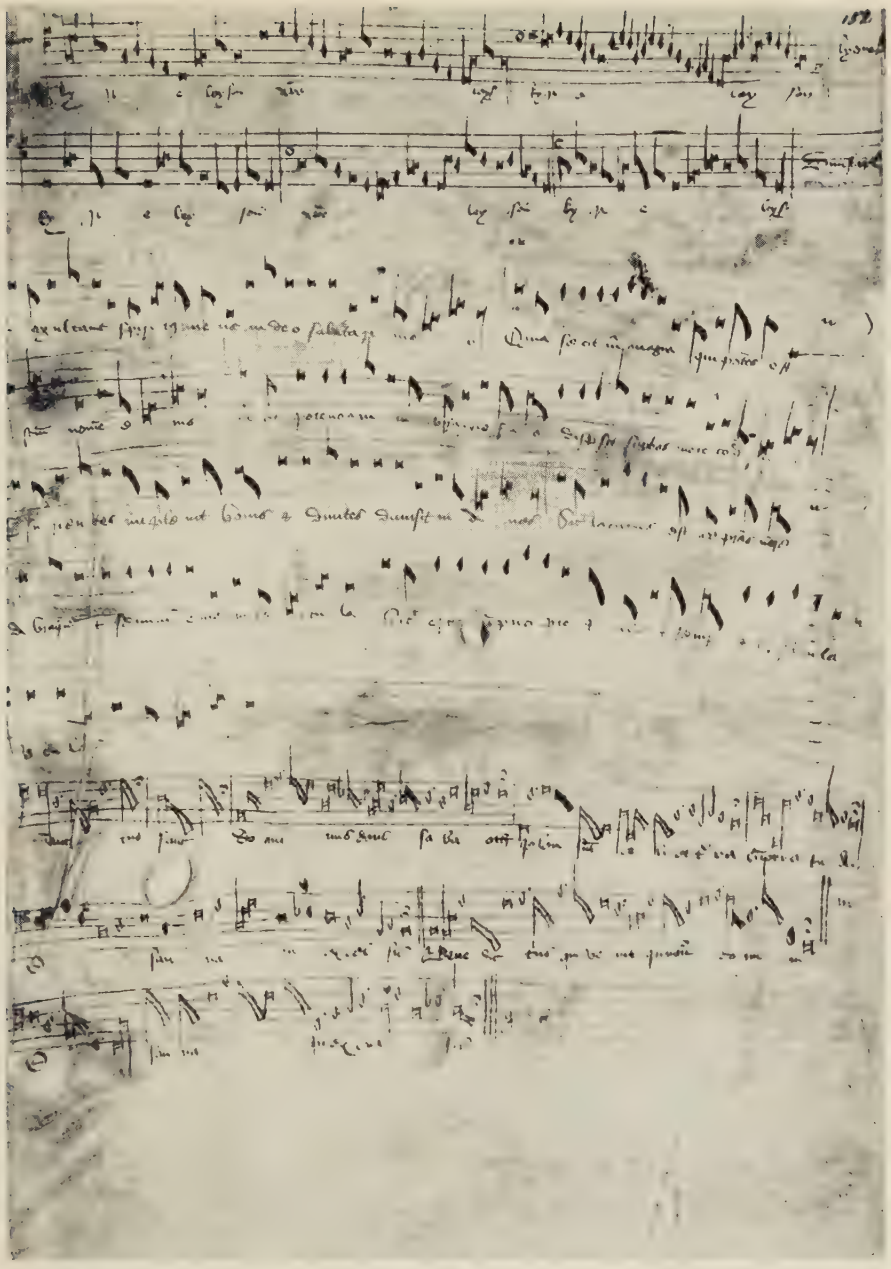


Plate II. British Museum Lansdowne Ms 462, f. 152

sources known so far, are recorded in M 3154, a manuscript which was at least partly written in and collected from church provinces connected with Ambrosian liturgy [6]. Combinations of *motetti missales* and a regular composition of the mass ordinary can be found again in Milan [7].

The strange inconsistency that the Agnus Dei is almost regularly used in these cycles [8], when in strict Ambrosian rite it was admitted only for the *Officium Defunctorum,* is probably explained by the fact that contrary to the liturgical instructions the Agnus Dei was sung, at least in the Milan cathedral, on special occasions [9]. Probably the *motetti missales* were used on these occasions and on the most important festivals of the church, an assumption which is confirmed by the fact that each cycle, though composed of many different texts, bears unequivocal textual relations to one single festival or to festival groups (*de D.N.J.C.* or *de B.M.V.*).

So far, the following cycles have been found:

Loyset Compère:	[Missa] Galeazescha	Mil 2267, 125′-135
	Ave Domine Jesu Christe	2269, 162′-170
	Hodie nobis de Virgine	2269, 171′-179
Gaspar van Weerbeke:	Ave mundi Domina	2269, 126′-134
	Quam pulchra es	2269, 134′-143
Franchinus Gafurius:	Salve mater salvatoris	2269, 84′-93 [10]
Anonymous:	Gaude flore virginali	M 3154, 38′-43
	Natus sapientia	M 3154, 43′-48′ [11]

[6] Cf. chapter II note 79 and chapter IV note 5. The manuscript is closely related to the later Trent mss. and, by its former owner, to Innsbruck, areas which adhered to Ambrosian liturgy to the 16th century.

[7] Gafurius, *Missa Sanctae Catherinae V. et M.* with two *motetti missales, loco Introitus* and *loco Deo Gratias,* in Mil 2268, 100'-110 (cf. our Gafurius edition in *CMM*). Occasionally the same combination of motets and masses can be found outside Milan (CS 36, 6'-16: Pierre de la Rue, *Missa Ave sanctissima Maria* with "Te decet laus", "loco deo gracias").

[8] Contrary to the statement by Reese, *Music in the Renaissance,* New York 1954, 227.

[9] Cf. Joh. Burchard, *Liber Notarum* (ed. E. Celani, *Rer. Ital. Script.* I, 1907, 635) and A. Schering, 'Musikalisches in Joh. Burchards Liber Notarum (1483-1506)', *Musikwiss. Beiträge, Festschrift f. J. Wolf,* Berlin 1929, 171 sqq. Reese (*op. cit.*, 227) points out a possible connection with Low Mass according to the Roman rite, but in view of the fact that motet cycles *loco missae* have not yet been found outside the Ambrosian liturgy, this seems to be an unnecessary complication of the issue.

[10] Some other motet groups by Gafurius are not designated as cycles but unified by consistent tonality and clef combination and by thematic relationship and may have been used as *motetti missales* (fragmentary cycles Mil 2269, 67'-71 and 71'-75; a complete cycle, partly anonymous, ibid. 98'-106). Similar motet groups by anonymous composers can be found in Mil 2267, 162'-167, 167'-173 and especially Mil 2269, 154'-162 ("Nativitas tua", cf. below).

[11] Both works probably composed ca. 1470-1480 by a composer of considerable craftsmanship.

According to the sources, all of them must have been composed between 1470 and 1500, approximately.

We do not know how and why the strange and short-lived Ambrosian use of *motetti missales* came into existence around 1470 and apparently vanished some thirty years later. Obviously it was rooted in local liturgical tradition, but strangely enough two young composers from the north, Gaspar and Compère, became its protagonists. Anyhow, the substitution of the ordinary and proper of the mass by liturgical or unliturgical texts related to specific festivals but mostly (except Elevatio motets) unrelated to the ritual texts they replace, certainly adds an element of subjective interpretation to the objective ritual of the mass. It may be regarded as yet another incarnation of the medieval idea of troping — an idea which in Josquin's time seems to have enjoyed its last bloom in chanson- and parody-mass, tenor motet and motet chanson.

Compère's *motetti missales,* outnumbering those of Gaspar and Gafurius, seem to belong to the earliest manifestation of this tradition. Like all other works of their kind, they are preserved in but one source or source group. Taking into consideration their apparent immaturity and youthful boldness of style (to be discussed later) we may safely assume that they were composed for the Milanese liturgy during Compère's time at the ducal chapel of the city, 1474 to 1475 [12]. The probably somewhat older and certainly more mature cycles of Compère's chapel master Gaspar van Weerbeke may have been of considerable influence on the younger composer.

Of the three cycles commonly [13] ascribed to Compère, only "Hodie nobis de Virgine" bears the composer's name Loyset [14] at least in the tabula of Mil 2269, while in the corpus of the manuscript only the Introitus is headed Loyset. The "[Missa] Galeazescha" [15] is anonymous in Mil 2267,

[12] Obviously, the singer-composers of the court music furnished compositions for the cathedral liturgy, at least for festive masses attended by the duke, although the old cathedral chapel continued to exist beside the more splendid court chapel. Thus it is explained why the Gafurius codices, written after at least Compère had long left the ducal service, preserve strictly liturgical compositions by these very masters of the court chapel; compositions which furthermore are not to be found elsewhere and which in all probability therefore must have been written when these composers were still serving in Milan.

[13] That is, since Jeppesen's discovery of the Milan manuscripts.

[14] It is certain that by "Loyset" Compère is meant, since other works ascribed to "Loyset" in Milan appear in other dependable and independent sources under the composer's full name.

[15] The name hints to an unknown connection between this work and duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza. Cesari, 'Musica e Musicisti alla Corte sforzesca' in *RMI* XXIX (1922), 17, supposed the work to have been written in honour of Gian Galeazzo Sforza or to have been compiled of motets which the duke liked especially. The

but its first, second and fourth motet appear again in Mil 2269 where they are ascribed to Loyset in the *tabula* (the Introitus again ascribed to the composer in the *corpus* of the manuscript also). Since each of the remaining cycles is without doubt composed by one master alone and since moreover the "Galeazescha" is of undeniable stylistic unity, we may safely assume that the complete cycle was composed by Compère alone. The third cycle, "Ave Domine Jesu Christe", appears anonymously in Mil 2269 [16], but internal and external evidence seem to point convincingly to Compère's authorship again. The unique treatment of the alternating tenor I and II (to be discussed later) from the "Galeazescha" appears again in this cycle's five-part motets, pointing conclusively (as far as conclusiveness is possible in this field of investigation) to the composer of the former cycle, and in the *tabula* of Mil 2269 "Ave Domine Jesu Christe" is placed between the two works ascribed to Compère — three motets from the "Galeazescha" and the complete cycle "Hodie nobis de Virgine".

Hodie nobis de Virgine

The eight motets of this cycle are arranged in the normal order described above, the only irregularity being that the first section of the Sanctus motet is built by Sanctus and Pleni instead of substitute motet texts. The words of all motets of the cycle are combined from different liturgical texts belonging to the first Vesper, Laudes and Matutin *in Nativitate Domini*. The Introitus may illustrate this technique.

> Hodie nobis de Virgine Christus nasci dignatus est. [17]
>
> Hic praesens testatur dies,
> currens per anni circulum,
> quod solus a sede Patris
> mundi salus advenerit. [18]

second assumption is hardly likely since the work was certainly composed as a whole; the first is even more unlikely since Compère left Milan probably before Gian Galeazzo's time.

[16] Jeppesen ('Die 3 Gafurius-Kodizes . . .', 27) believes the work to be ascribed to Compère in the *tabula* of Mil 2269. This, however, is not confirmed by the appearance of the *tabula* according to microfilms as well as to examination of the manuscript itself made some years ago by my colleague Dr. G. Croll.

[17] Not yet identified.

[18] Fourth verse of "Christe redemptor omnium", *Hymnus in 1. Vesp. in Nat. Domini*. Cf. *Analecta hymnica* II, 36 and *Officium in Die Nativitatis D.N.J.C.* ... ed. Carolus Weinmann, Regensburg 1930, 12 sqq.

Christus natus est nobis: venite, adoremus. [19]

Parvulus filius hodie natus est nobis:
et vocabitur Deus fortis,
et vocabitur nomen eius Emanuel. [20]

Venite, gentes, et adorate Dominum,
quia per ipsum omnia facta sunt. [21]

Similarly, the seven remaining motet texts are combined from hymn strophes, antiphons, responsories and other texts not yet identified [22].

The technique of combining different liturgical texts or text fragments into a new cyclic unity is not uncommon among the Milanese *motetti missales,* but some uncommon features — the extreme diversity of the material re-worked and the extreme unity of its liturgical place (one specific day of the ecclesiastical year) — are added here. Most of the Milanese cycles are intended to serve generally *de B.M.V.* or *de D.N.J.C.,* and the texts selected for combination are mostly cited completely or by groups of verses, one motet frequently comprising one complete text or some complete verses only and therefore possibly serving as independent liturgical motet as well. The anonymous *motetti missales* in M 3154 are even more uniform (though less adaptable to other purposes) in using one strophic text with occasional insertions for each complete cycle, their liturgical use consequently being restricted to one liturgical place only (*de septem gaudiis B.M.V., de passione D.N.J.C.*) [23].

A close spiritual connection between the motet texts and the idea of those parts of the liturgy they are to replace was apparently not intended. The only exception to this rule is given in the fifth motet, where Sanctus and Pleni sunt caeli are followed by "Verbum caro factum est". Since the sixth motet is to be sung not *ad Elevationem,* as usual, but *post,* this "Ver bum caro factum est" was probably intoned during the elevation — the connection between the transubstantiation in this text and the transubstantiation of the mass liturgy is fairly obvious.

While neither the liturgical melodies connected with the texts nor a new consistent cantus firmus or identical initial motives for all motets

[19] *Invitatorium ad Mat. in Nat. Domini.* Cf. *Officium . . .,* 30.

[20] Fifth *Ant. ad Laudes in Nat. Domini.* Cf. *Officium . . .,* 92 sq.

[21] Not yet identified, reminiscent of the second period of the *Versus* "Dies sanctificatus" from *Resp.* "Beata Viscera", seventh *Resp. ad Mat. in Nat. Domini.* Cf. *Officium . . .,* 67 sq.

[22] Detailed identifications are given in the *Critical Notes* of our Compère edition.

[23] For a more detailed discussion of the liturgical and textual problems, cf. Croll, *op. cit.,* 185.

are used, a somewhat loose structural unity of the cycle is achieved by a nearly consistent order and change of time signatures by which most of the motets are divided into the two traditional parts of the Netherlands motet.

1. O — O 3
2. O — O 3
3. ¢ — ¢ 3
4. O — O 3
5. ¢
6. C 3
7. O — O 3
8. O — O 3

The fifth motet, while without change of time signature, is nevertheless divided in two parts by a double "bar line". Apart from the order of time signatures, the uniform tonality (g-dorian) and clef combination of the motets, as usually in the motet cycles *loco missae,* help to establish unity of the cycle.

The rigid outer form is reflected by the inner structure of the different motets, and the formal unity of the cycle is further confirmed by the consistency and even mechanical uniformity of the contrapuntal, melodic and harmonic idiom used in all parts of the work. The fundamental idea is a strictly musical one — the alternation between full-voice sections without imitation and strictly imitative duets, starting with all four voices, gradually thinning to alternating duets to the end of the first part, and, reversing the process, from duets to a full-voice final section in the second part. It is adapted to the text in a conspicuously formalistic fashion: each line or pair of lines is set contrasting to its surroundings, each formal distinction, even logical *caesura* is matched by a musical cadence, but not the slightest effort is made to interpret this text beyond its formal and logical structure by syllabic declamation, contrast of contrapuntal technique and the numerous devices used by Josquin and his followers probably but a short time later and lastly to be codified in the early baroque "Figurenlehre". Even the full-voice sections, though basically progressing in equal rhythms in all four voices, are richly melismatic and almost free from declamatory impulses. The first motet sets the standard by which most of the other parts will go.

O m.	1-5	Hodie nobis de Virgine	4 v.	without imitation
	5-10	Christus nasci dignatus est.	4	without imitation
	10-14	Hic praesens testatur dies, currens per anni circulum	2	T-B imitation
	14-18	quod solus a sede Patris mundi salus advenerit	2	T-B imitation
O 3	18-19	Christus natus est nobis:	2	A-B imitation
	19-20	venite, adoremus.	2	T-B without imit.

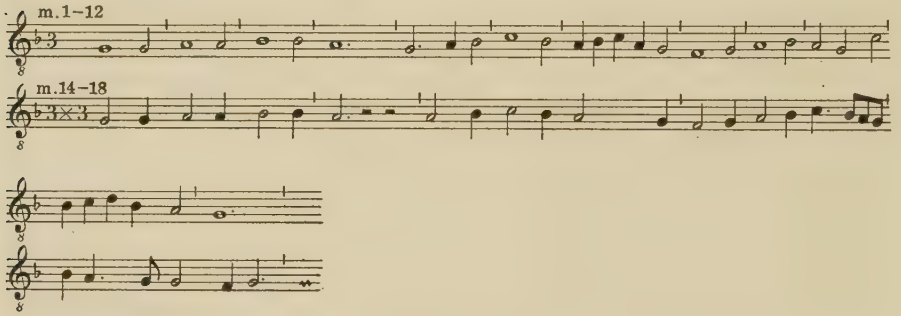
21-22	venite, adoremus.	4	without imit., S-T repetition of T-B m. 19-20
22-24	Parvulus filius	2	S-A imitation
24-25	hodie natus est nobis:	2	T-B imitation
25-28	et vocabitur Deus fortis,	2	A-B imitation
28-31	et vocabitur nomen eius Emanuel. Venite, gentes,	3	S-A-T, S-T canon
32-34	et adorate Dominum,	3	S-A-T imitation
34-37	quia per ipsum omnia facta sunt.	4	without imitation

The only conspicuous irregularity of this construction, the accentuation of "venite, adoremus" (repetition with two supplementary voices) may well be intended to furnish the intimate connection with the liturgical act (Introitus) which the text alone fails to give. Most "regular", on the other hand, and to be found again in most of the following motets, is a marked inclination to strictly canonic imitations, strangely old-fashioned, especially in connection with modern duet technique. Again most regular and typical of the whole cycle are the equally old-fashioned and consistent use of unison and octave as intervals for duet imitation and canon, the obviously "Italian" dance rhythm, derived from the formula ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ in *tp. perf. prolatio maior* [24], the tonal concentration on the "tonic" g (only a few duets tend to cadences on b flat, f and a) and the stereotyped cadential formulas: VII^6-I with superius and tenor *clausula* in duets and V-I with the characteristic modern bass *clausula* (rising a fourth or descending a fifth) and the resonant modern altus *clausula* (descending a third to the third of the final triad) in four-voice sections.

While the last named peculiarities and especially the rhythmic and melodic style of the *tripla* sections are certainly *"modern"* features for the time in which Compère's *motetti missales* were probably composed, the structural and melodical preponderance of superius and tenor obviously

[24] This dance rhythm as well as the melodic style by which it is usually accompanied are some of the devices of the Milanese works of Compère which can be considered truly "Italian" characteristics with some certainty. They are found in many of the Milanese works of Gaspar as well as in Italian dance music of the same time (cf. Croll, *op. cit.*, 202), and they appear frequently with Gafurius, in anonymous compositions from the Milan manuscripts and in hymn settings from the Upper Italian manuscript Ver 758 (the last source was kindly pointed out to me by Professor R. Gerber). It is characteristic that just these rhythms and their corresponding time signatures — (⊙ and ☉ or ○ 3 and ☾ 3) were not adopted by the later Flemish protagonists of the "Italian" motet type, while the traditional *tripla* rhythm in ∅ or ∅ 3 was frequently used well into the 16th century: probably they were too "Italian" and too "secular". As to a possible further source of this style of rhythm and melody, see below, note 45.

point back to the traditional Burgundian S-T frame [25]. While A and B are regarded as secondary voices filling and supporting the primary S-T frame, crossing the other voices and progressing in basically harmonic intervals like fourths and fifths within a comparatively wide range, S and T are restricted to smooth stepwise motion, rising and falling mostly within the fifth g-d′ (g′-d″) — *finalis* and *tenor* of the mode in which the work is composed. Especially the T is developed out of a constant repetition and variation of the ascending and descending fifth g-d′-g. It is this formula, serving as a substitute for the traditional *cantus prius factus* of the mass, which again links the motets of this cycle closely together. In widely differing melodic formulas this element of ascending and descending fifth (with a few extensions to the second and a very few to the fourth below) is present throughout the cycle, and in the last motet a final climax is achieved by almost literal repetition of what was formerly but a seemingly unorganized chain of variations [26].



While the second motet of the cycle is built exactly like the first in every detail, the third is different structurally as well as in its time signatures [27]. Here at last the technique of imitation is used at the beginning;

[25] Cf. Stephan, *Die Burgundisch-niederländische Motette zur Zeit Ockeghems,* Kassel 1937, 52 sqq.

[26] The same use of the same melodic material is found in Gaspar's cycle "Ave mundi Domina" (cf. Croll, *op. cit.,* 204 sqq.).

[27] The traditional distinction between *tempora integra et diminuta* is maintained here as well as in the "Galeazescha" — a necessary qualification of the regulated order of *tempora* in the two cycles and additional evidence of the early date of their composition. The distinction is most obvious in C and ₵, the mensural values preferred in the former being *semibrevis* and *minima,* in the latter *brevis* and *semibreves.* Only a few years later, the distinction is disappearing, and stylistically more advanced compositions even in the Milan manuscripts (especially works by Gafurius) use C, ₵ and even ₵ 2 indiscriminately, the preferred note values being *semibrevis* and *minima* throughout. Around and shortly after 1500 ₵ is used almost exclusively. As to the whole problem, cf. C. Sachs, *Rhythm and Tempo,* New York 1953, chapter 10, especially 222 sqq. As to the possible implications of the distinction between C and ₵ before 1500 concerning tempo, cf. further W. Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900-1600,* Cambridge/Mass. [4]1953, 191 sqq.

but once the opening motif has been imitated by all the four voices, the T acts like the c.f. of a tenor motet, set off distinctly against the other voices, reciting the full text in a strangely psalmodic fashion, in *breves* and *semibreves* throughout, mostly following the patterns 𝐂 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅝 and 𝐂 3 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥. 𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅗𝅥, without melismas and with many tone repetitions, mostly on g and a [28]. The other voices surround this "c. f" in florid, melismatic counterpoint without imitations and nearly without interruptions to the end, but with occasional parallel tenths between S and B and with strongly accentuated cadences at the end of text phrases, almost regularly distributed from ten to ten *breves* (m. 5, 11, 13, 17, 21, 29, 32). Since the melismatic outer voices cannot keep up with the rapid text declamation of the T, they use but fragments of the full text, and long sections consequently appear to be bitextual like a regular tenor motet: [29]

S ... pax vera descendit
T ... salvator noster et caelorum Rex de Virgine nasci
S Hodie nobis salvator noster de Virgine nasci
T dignatus est, ut mominem perditum ad caelestia dona
S dignatus est. ... hodie ...
T revocaret. ... hodie ...

Similarly traditional and even old-fashioned, compared with the style of the first and second motets, are the melodic and harmonic idiom, strongly reminiscent of the Burgundian style, especially in the "cantabile" B and in the rich sounding "major" harmony often tending to e flat, especially by means of deceptive cadences.

The fourth motet (*loco Offertorii*) is again built after the pattern of the first, but its dimensions are considerably greater, involving a three-part imitation and non-imitative duets in the first part and a series of duets, the upper voices of which are developed like a variation chain, in the second part:

m.	29-31	31-33	33-34	34-37	37-40
text	a	b	b	c	c
music	a	a_1	a_2	a_3	a_4

[28] Although the melody seems not to be a liturgical *cantus prius factus,* it could at least have been modelled after similar melodies. A melody to a similar text, beginning similarly, appears in Bohemian sources of the early 16th century (Prag, National Museum XIII A 2, 180′; Chrudim, Municipal Museum, Cantionale of Johannes Táborský 1530, 270′), first as secondary voice of a two-voice setting of another c. f., later as independent c. f. itself:

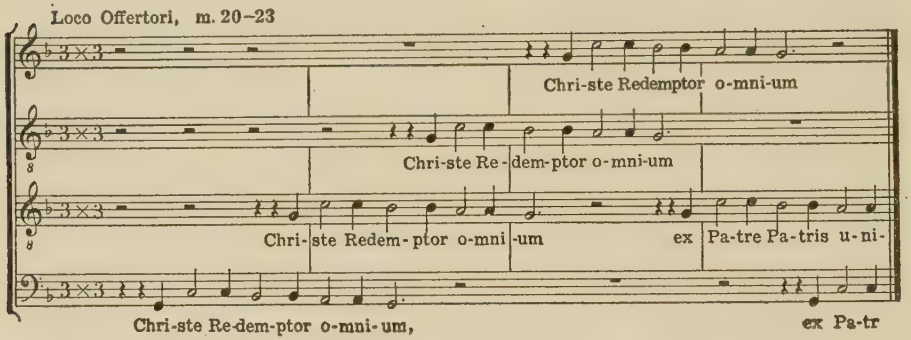
N.B. Black notes throughout!

Cf. D. Orel, *Der Mensuralkodex Speciálnik,* Vienna dissertation 1914 (typescript), 163; idem, Kancionál Franusův, Prag (1921), 87.

[29] A and B are partly without text in the source, but the few extant text passages correspond to those of the S.

An impressive climax is reached in the last section, where the primary voices S and T sing an interrupted canon of the octave, while the A psalmodically repeats the tenor of the mode (d′) and the B leaps in fifths and fourths between G and g, ending in an ostinato-like d-g.

While variation chain and climax abundantly prove the growing mastership in form of the young composer, there is still evidence of a marked uncertainty, especially in imitation, and whenever pervading imitation seems to start, a compromise between it and duet writing is reached: each voice stops soon after the following voice enters.



"Sanctus — Verbum caro factum est", the fifth motet of the cycle, in its first part seems to combine peculiarities of the first and of the third motet's style, transplanting the technique of graduation (not far from the later rhetorical *gradatio*) — from alternating imitative and canonic duets to a four-voice climax — from the second to the first part of the motet. Consequently, the second part has to use another technique to avoid monotony. The problem is solved by introducing a section of *cantus coronatus* — strictly chordal syllabic declamation in fermata-crowned block chords. In itself a traditional device of the Burgundians, used especially with texts of devotion or with important passages from a wider context [30] and almost

[30] Cf. Reese, *op. cit.*, passim s. v. fermata-marked block chords, and Ch. van den Borren, *Études sur le XVe siècle musical*, Antwerp 1941, 152 sqq. Apparently the device was much in fashion with the young Dufay and his contemporaries but all but disappeared between 1450 and 1475, to be "rediscovered" by Gaspar and Compère in their Milanese works and to be further developed especially by Josquin. It is perhaps not by coincidence that Compère was to use this technique, for the first and only time in this cycle, to this very text, apart from the liturgical importance of the section: there seems to have existed a tradition of setting chordally (though not always with fermatas) and without *cantus prius factus* the "Verbum caro factum est"; a tradition which includes Busnois' "Alleluja - Verbum caro factum est" in Brussels 5557 (cf. E. H. Sparks, 'The Motets of Antoine Busnois', *JAMS* 6, 1953, 216 sqq.)

exclusively in settings *a 3,* this technique is extended here over a considerable section of the motet, adapted to consistent, sonorous and skilful four-part writing [31] and lastly varied in the final section — a chordal, but vigorously rhythmic declamation passage without fermatas, running into an impressive melismatic "iubilus" in the last measures.

"Memento, salutis auctor", the sixth motet, is again like the first part of the preceding work modelled after the second parts of the initial motets, beginning with imitative and free duets, inserting a short four-voice section in the middle of the motet (accentuating the last word of the first text verse, "sumpseris"), and after new duets ending in an extended four-voice section of approximately equal rhythm in all voices. The melodic repetition and variation technique of the former motets is developed into a system of melodic patterns migrating from one voice to another with little variations: [32]

a	b	c	d	f	f′	b	
a	b	a	e	g	g′	b	free duet and section a 4
h	h_1		g_4				n...
g_2	g_3			g_4			n...
					g_4		g_4+n
							n...

The last two motets are modelled exactly after the first and second, but again the technique of variation and repetition is further developed. In the seventh motet, a motif imitated by all voices at the end of the first part (using the motif g_4 from the preceding motet) is repeated with new text at the beginning of the second part, rhythmically changed according to the new time signature O 3 and its stereotyped rhythm ♩ ♩ ♩. ♪♩ (m. 18-21 and 23-26). In the last motet, the second part is mostly built by repetitions and variations similar to those of the sixth motet:

as well as Gaspars "Verbum caro factum est - Ave verum" (cf. Croll, *op. cit.,* 170 sqq.). However, Compère's direct model may well have been Gaspar's motet cycle "Ave mundi Domina" where in the fifth motet the liturgical transubstantiation is marked by a similar section of fermata-marked block chords (cf. Croll, *op. cit.,* 217 sq.).

[31] Of seventeen fermata chords, only the first and last are devoid of the third, according to the traditional rule of counterpoint (cf. chapter IV note 41); one chord — the only one deviating from the mode — doubles the third (e flat-g-b flat-g); all others bring the full triad in root position, the fundamental tone being doubled.

[32] Indention of letters symbolizes imitation; n means different free passages; the number of letters superposed indicates the number of voices used.

a		b		b	n	c	n
a		b′		n	n	d	n
a		b			c	c	c′
a		b			n	d	n
		b″		e			
		n		n			
	b″		b″		e		
b″			n		n		

Here, as always in the cycle, musical repetition and text repetition do not strictly go together. While the clear arrangement of sections and the declamatory (though not principally syllabic) melodic style are obviously intended to set out the text as distinctly as possible, the composer's principal aim seems, nevertheless, to be the establishment of purely musical forms. It is probably this concern with form that leads to the astonishing symmetry of the cycle, as far as the dominating technique of each motet and especially of their opening sections is concerned:

1. + 2. non imit. — imitative — non imit.	3. imit. — non imit., c.f. setting
4. like 1. + 2.	5. imit. — non imit., chordal declamation
6. imit. — non imit.	7. + 8. like 1. + 2.

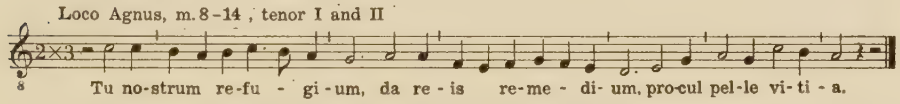
[*Missa*] *Galeazescha*

The formal experiments of "Hodie nobis de Virgine" are considerably expanded in the "Sforza" cycle, which is written for five voices throughout. The text is again a compilation from different sources, but only metrical texts, mostly complete verses, are used — sequences, section from an *oratio de B.M.V.* and a number of unidentified verses probably from sequences too; litany-like exclamations, "O Maria", "O regina pietatis" and others are liberally inserted. The only text not selected according to this rule is likewise the only text not referring to the Holy Virgin — "Adoramus te, Christe . . .", *responsorium breve de Inventione S. Crucis* [33]. At the beginning of the sixth motet, serving "ad elevationem", and composed in fermata-crowned block chords, it corresponds exactly to the final section of

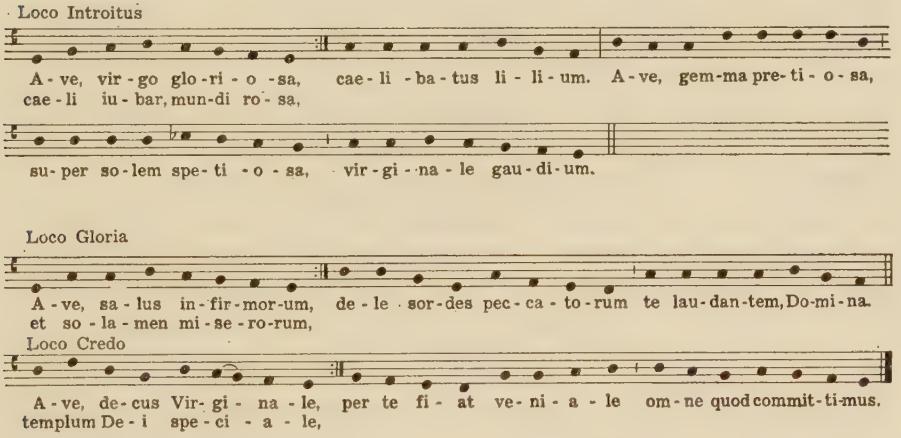
[33] *Liber usualis,* 1458. The same text in the same liturgical position is again used in Compère's "Ave Domine Jesu Christe" and in the anonymous cycle "Natus sapientia" in M 3154.

the fifth motet of the preceding cycle and is obviously meant to be sung during the liturgical transubstantiation [34].

While "Hodie nobis de Virgine" was devoid of any liturgical cantus firmi, the present cycle seems to be built upon pre-existent melodies from beginning to end, most of them, however, not identical with the usual sequence melodies and not yet identified. As far as the traditional melodies are to be found, their preparation is consistent throughout the cycle: the c. f. is sung by the first and second tenor, line by line, alternately or by one tenor alone, rhythmically adapted to the other voices but unchanged otherwise and but occasionally imitated by other voices. The resulting melodic lines especially in the *tripla* sections are charmingly and naively "popular" adaptations of the *cantus prius factus,* widely at variance with the gravity of the traditional "Pfundnoten" treatment and the melismatic exuberance of c. f. coloration [35].



According to this technique, the melodies not yet identified can be easily reconstructed.


Loco Introitus
A - ve, vir - go glo - ri - o - sa, cae - li - ba - tus li - li - um. A - ve, gem-ma pre-ti - o - sa,
cae - li iu - bar, mun-di ro - sa,
su- per so-lem spe-ti - o - sa, vir-gi - na - le gau-di-um.
Loco Gloria
A - ve, sa - lus in-fir-mor-um, de - le sor-des pec-ca - to-rum te lau-dan-tem, Do-mi-na.
et so - la - men mi-se - ro-rum,
Loco Credo
A - ve, de-cus Vir- gi - na - le, per te fi - at ve-ni - a - le om-ne quod commit-ti-mus.
templum De - i spe-ci - a - le,

[34] Similarly, the cycles by Gaspar van Weerbeke are *Missae de B.M.V.* with a "transubstantiation" text referring to Christ; but here the text appears regularly in the second part of the motet *loco Sanctus* (cf. Croll, *op. cit.,* 188 sqq.). In accordance with Compère's "Hodie nobis de Virgine", the sixth motet of each of these cycles probably was to be sung *post* (not *ad*) *Elevationem* (original *loco* designations are lacking in Gaspar's cycles).

[35] Sixth verse of "Ave virgo virginum", cf. *Analecta hymnica* LIV, 432; the melody in C.-A. Moberg, *Über die schwedischen Sequenzen,* Uppsala 1927 (*Veröff. der gregor. Akademie zu Freiburg in der Schweiz,* 13), nr 6.

In this cyclic c. f. composition with changing cantus firmi, the unifying device of melodic uniformity in the principal voices, used in "Hodie nobis de Virgine", must of course be abandoned, but uniform tonality (dorian) and clef combination are maintained, and the order of time signatures is even more strictly regulated than in the first cycle:

1.	O	—	O 3					
2.	C	—	C 3					
3.	𝔊	—	Ø					
4.	O	—	O 3	—	O	—	O 3	
5.	C	—	C 3	—	C	—	C 3	
6.	𝔊	—	Ø	—	𝔊	—	Ø	
7.	C	—	C 3	—	C	—	C 3	
8.	O	—	O 3	—	O	—	O 3	

The "artificialities", so prominent in Compère's masses, are obviously reflected by these proportions. Once again, a seemingly progressive composition (progressive at least in many of its contrapuntal details) reveals an undercurrent of conservativism very typical with many of the composer's works.

While the treatment of text is fundamentally the same as that of "Hodie nobis de Virgine", form and counterpoint are different and peculiar in more than one respect. The most obvious new device is the treatment of the two tenors: a regular alternation without the least overlapping of phrases throughout the work, interrupted by unison writing of the two voices in emphatical chordal declamatory passages and at the end of each motet — a strangely "unreal" five-part notation of what is actually four-part music. There is no counterpart to this amazing technique in the Milan manuscripts or, apparently, in any other source of the time [36].

Though this striking and so far inexplicable technique is obviously the most unconventional feature of the work, other peculiarities are of scarcely minor importance. Since pre-existent melodies are used and since the strophic form of the texts and melodies in itself favours the development of

[36] The five-part compositions of the Milan manuscripts — Alexander Copinus, *Missa Si dedero;* anonymous, *Missa O venus bant;* Gafurius, "O sacrum convivium", "Magnum nomen Domini", "Audi benigne conditor"; anonymous, "Trophaeum crucis", "O Jesu dulcissime" — are correctly written in traditional five-part counterpoint. Strictly alternating voices (*contratenor* I and II) in a "five"-part composition can be found in Japart's "Vray dieu d'amours — Sancte Johanne", but here the technique is due to the antiphonal structure of the litany c. f., and moreover Compère's melodic unison is not used (Japart's motet chanson is published after *Canti C* in A. Schering, *Die niederländische Orgelmesse im Zeitalter des Josquin,* Leipzig 1912, 75 sq.). Similarly, strict alternation of two voices (tenor I and II) is indicated by canon prescription in the last anonymous "L'homme armé" mass in Naples VI E 40 (cf. D. Plamenac, 'Zur "L'homme armé-Frage', *ZfMw XI,* 1928/29, 377).

repetitive forms, the variation technique of "Hodie nobis de Virgine" is abandoned, but the repetition technique is developed further. While the first and second motet are built as a succession of different sections, according to the disposition of the text and without repetitions even where melodic sections of the c. f. are repeated, the third motet is largely built from repetitions predominantly of musical sections alone. Thus the imitation *à 3* comprising the first line of the second text verse is repeated with the third line of the text, a fifth below and without the free fourth voice, but with a fourth imitative entry instead (m. 17-21 and 23-27); and the whole second part of the motet, comprising two verses with identical c. f., is composed as a repetition of the complete polyphonic structure with but a very few variations, thus bringing an impressive climax at the end (m. 39-48 and 48-57). The "Sanctus" motet is articulated, not unlike a modern rondo, by repetitions of a four-chord "motif" which appears in changing rhythms and with changing text before the first, at the beginning of the second and after the third, fourth and fifth verses.

Moreover, some of the remaining polyphonic sections are repeated according to repetitions of the c. f. The complete motet can be reduced to the following formula: [37]

tenor		a	a	b	c		d		d		e	f		g	h	i	g′		k	l	m	n		k	l	m	n
setting	R		A			R′	B	B′		C			D		E		D′	R		F		R		F′			R

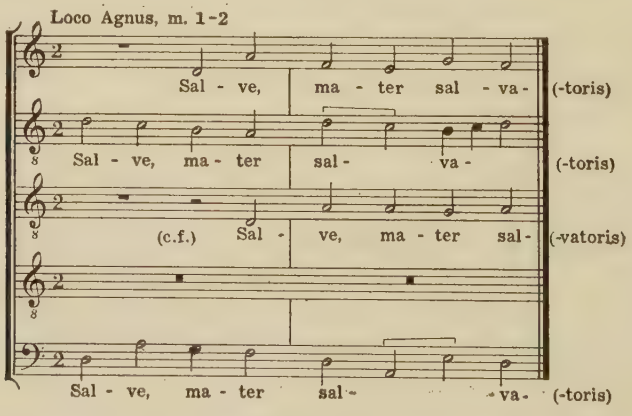
The elevation motet is built more freely, especially at the beginning where the virtual elevation text is divided into four sections according to its meaning and grammatical structure and recited similarly: in fermata-crowned block chords (m. 1-2), syllabic declamation in block chords with livelier rhythms, ending in fermatas twice (m. 3-4, 4-6), and again in

[37] R is the refrain "motif", R′ a variation of R serving at the same time as beginning of c. f. line d.

lively and now slightly melismatic, but once again chordal declamation in triplets (m. 7-9). The following section, however, again makes use of repetition formulas in the c. f., building a symmetrical form in five subsections:

	A	A	A′	A	A
final cadence	d	d	f	d	d

The following section as well as the last two motets of the cycle are free from repetitions of structural importance. Like its form, the contrapuntal structure of the "Galeazescha" differs considerably from that of the first cycle. While most of its motets again begin without imitation (exceptions being the third, fourth and seventh motet), imitative techniques play an important role not only in the *tripla* sections but in the first parts as well, and all technical possibilities from imitative duets (mostly with free supplementary voices) to pervading imitation of four voices are used equally. Moreover, imitative technique is used more liberally and more skilfully. Canonic sections are extremely rare. Imitations of the fourth (occasionally with tonal answer: first motet, m. 22-23) appear besides those of the unison and octave. Imitative sections are frequently accompanied, introduced or closed by free voices, and imitation is usually no longer cut off in every voice as soon as the imitation motif has been presented. Especially this last named peculiarity of continuing imitation motives by free counterpoint, a matter of course in the later technique of imitation, helps to establish a resonant, full-voice counterpoint predominant in the whole cycle. In conformity with this technique, pure duet writing is practically nowhere used. That counterpoint and imitation are sometimes superseded by considerations of colorful and rich sound, an inclination to progressions of triads even more prominent than in the first cycle, is obvious where c. f. imitations are changed arbitrarily to obtain full triads.



While in these technical details the "Galeazescha" goes far beyond the first cycle, tonality and cadence patterns frequently tend to be compara-

tively old-fashioned. Tonal unity of the cycle is observed, apart from the Sanctus motet in which the concluding quotation of the refrain "motif" leads by necessity to a instead of d, but a considerable number of intermediate cadences on a and c and an even greater number of deceptive cadences (B flat instead of d and d instead of f) can be found, and the old V-I cadence with the bass rising an octave (nowhere to be found in the first cycle) appears almost regularly as soon as one of the tenor voices descends to c or d.

Ave Domine Jesu Christe

Like "Hodie nobis de Virgine" Compère's third cycle is compiled from the most varied sources, referring to festivals *de D.N.J.C.* generally — metrical and prosaic texts alike, proses, orations, antiphones, responsories, a rhymed Benedicamus verse from Pierre de Corbeil's office for the Feast of Fools, and sections from the Litany of All Saints. A certain regularity is obtained in the first and second motet, where the first three verses of the prose "Ave Domine Jesu Christe" alone are used; but the third and fourth motets, while containing the following verses from the same prose, begin to add different text; and in the last four motets of the cycle no principle of selection can be detected, some texts not even referring to Christ [38]. As in the preceding cycles, the section serving *ad Elevationem* alone has a definite connection with the sacred rite, using the same words as the Elevatio motet of the "Galeazescha" and setting them in exactly the same fashion, continuing moreover (at variance with the other cycles in this respect) with a direct reference to the holy blood of the Saviour: "O sanguis Christi, qui fusus amore fuisti . . .".

In its treatment of pre-existent melodies, "Ave Domine Jesu Christe" seems to combine peculiarities of both other cycles. Liturgical melodies together with their texts are used in but two of the eight motets [39], the preparation of the plainsong being identical with that of the "Galeazescha". But apart from these c. f. quotations a pervading melody is used in all but two motets, giving a somewhat loose unity to the cycle, not unlike the concentration obtained by the variation technique in "Hodie nobis de Virgine". It is a melody not yet identified as a whole, composed of three phrases

[38] The two last motets do not refer to Christ at all, but to the Virgin and God the Father. It seems possible therefore that the whole mass could be used and was perhaps intended as a cycle *de Trinitate* too.

[39] A litany section ("Sancte Augustine, ora pro nobis") in the fourth motet; the first notes of the *Antiphona pro pace* "Da pacem", the sequence "Ave Maria gratia plena" and a simple *tonus lectionis* to the text of the antiphon "Ecce ancilla Domini" in the last motet.

obviously reminiscent of chanson and Lied melodies and perhaps combined from different sources by the composer himself [40].

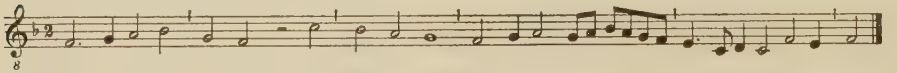
This supposition is the more likely since the three phrases are combined differently and repeated irregularly in each motet, free sections being appended or inserted frequently:

1.	a b c c	a b c b c c
2.	a b c c	second part of the motet free
3.	a a a a	free appendix
4.	—	
5.	a b c	free appendix
6.	—	
7.	a b c c	a a b c c b c c free appendix
8.	d (a+b shortened)	d free insertion a free app.

Since in the free motets 4 and 6 occasionally tenor lines are repeated in otherwise free sections *à 4,* possibly unidentified cantus firmi or cantus firmus fragments are used in these works too.

Bipartition indicated by change of time signatures is regularly used

[40] The phrases a and b are very similar to the beginning of Busnois' "Je ne demande" (tenor):



Phrase c is stock phrase of melodic invention in Compère's time, possibly originating in Flemish and German folksong. Its most popular version was the beginning of the famous "Credo of fourths" ("Quartencredo") widespread in German and Czech sources from the late 15th to the 18th century and occasionally used in polyphonic Credo settings around 1500 (cf. O. Marxer, *Zur spätmittelalterlichen Choralgeschichte St. Gallens, Veröff. der greg. Akad. zu Freiburg i.d. Schweiz,* 3, St. Gallen 1908, 174 sq.; A. Schmitz, 'Ein schlesisches Kantional aus dem 15. Jh.', *AfMf* I, 1936, 392 sq.; concerning Czech sources of the Credo and related melodies especially Burlas-Fišer-Horejš, *Hudba na slovensku v XVII storoči,* Bratislava 1954, 267, 311, 321; polyphonic settings anonymously in Zwickau 119, Spec, a4′-a6′; by Isaac in M 53, 85′-99). The most famous monophonic version beside the Credo is the opening phrase in Luthers "Nun freut euch, lieben Christen gmein" of 1523, probably connected with older folksong versions. A later polyphonic version occurs as motif of the opening imitation in Clemens' motet "Mane nobiscum Domine" (cf. K. Ph. Bernet-Kempers, *Jacobus Clemens non Papa und seine Motetten,* Augsburg 1928, ex. 45).

again in this cycle, but the strict "canon" of alternation apparent in the "Galeazescha" has been abandoned. *Tp. imperf. dim.*, used with the *alla breve* motion already apparent in parts of the second cycle, is predominant here, although the contrasting *tp. imperf.* is nowhere used:

1.	¢ 41	—	¢ 3				
2.	O	—	¢ 3				
3.	O	—	¢ 3				
4.	¢	—	¢ 3				
5.	¢	—	¢ 3				
6.	¢	—	¢ 3				
7.	O	—	¢	—	¢ 3		
8.	¢	—	¢ 3				

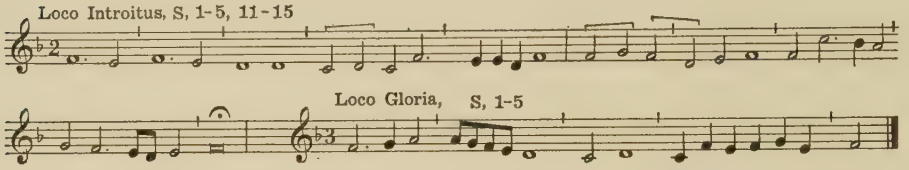
Although the *alla breve* motion is decidedly old-fashioned, the order of time signatures clearly reflects the more modern uses of Josquin's time, and the *prolatio maior* rhythm, most characteristic of the *tripla* sections of the preceding cycles, is conspicuously absent here, together with its dance-like, popular melodic style.

Reminiscent of the "Galeazescha", however, is the introduction of fictitious "five-part" writing in the fourth and last motets, possibly intended to serve as climax in the middle and at the end of the cycle. The two tenors are treated exactly like those of the other cycle, alternating throughout and singing in unison at the end of the first and at beginning and end of the second part of the last motet. In only two instances do the beginning and the end of two phrases overlap in one note (fourth motet, m. 42; last motet, m. 24), and in the fourth motet the two tenors alone sing a duet. The likeness of this extraordinary technique in both cycles is a strong argument for Compère's otherwise hypothetical authorship of "Ave Domine Jesu Christe" (see above).

Like the c. f. treatment and the number of voices employed, the contrapuntal technique of the cycle stands between the more extreme possibilities realized in the other two works. Traditional four-part writing with marked structural predominance of S and T and without imitations plays an important part, the general appearance being very similar to the Credo motet of "Hodie nobis de Virgine". The typical scheme of formal development — from full-voice beginning to alternating duets and a full-voice final section — is again similar to that of the first cycle; the two five-part motets alone begin with alternating duets instead of a full-voice section. Duet writing and pervading imitation are used much more frequently, but the technique of imitation beyond canon writing in extremely short phrases is similarly rudimentary in both cycles. On the other hand, the melodic

[41] The original time signature C in our Compère edition, p. 26, is misprinted and should read ¢.

idiom of "Ave Domine Jesu Christe" is quite different from that of the preceding cycles. As in the "Alles regrets" mass, the song-like c. f. strongly affects the principal voices, S and T, even in sections not derived from the c. f. substance.



The somewhat decadent grace of this late Burgundian melodic idiom with its carefully balanced and rounded phrases is evident, though to a lesser degree, in the other voices too, but here the typical elements of secondary voices are present at the same time — triad skips and melodically "dead" intervals in the altus, fourth, fifth and octave leaps alternating with graceful stepwise motion in the bass.

The harmonic style is clear and simple, as in "Hodie nobis de Virgine", cadences regularly tending to the *finalis* and *confinalis* (f and c) of the f-ionian mode which is strictly maintained throughout the cycle [42]. The curious mixture of old and new, so typical of Compère's motet cycles, is again present in the modern V-I cadences with falling fifth in the bass, and in the lavish use of the old-fashioned under-third *clausula* in the superius. A naive delight in pure sound, beyond any considerations of linear writing, is evident in the persistent exploration of the deepest regions by the bass, especially in passages of pure triad writing reminiscent of similar sections in "Hodie nobis de Virgine".

Loco Gloria, M. 29-33
ia - nu - a cae - li, pa - nis vi - vus, Vir - gi - nis par - tus,
ia - nu - a cae - li, pa - - - nis vi - vus,
ia - nu - a cae - li, pa - nis vi - vus, Vir - (gi - nis)
(pa) - cis ia - nu - a cae - li, pa - nis vi - (vus)

[42] Deviations are more frequent in the five-part motet, "Da pacem" (three intermediate cadences on a, b flat and b flat respectively) and especially the offertory motet, where a sequence of cadences on g is introduced (after a "forerunner" in the third duet) and separated from the surrounding cadences with the regularity of an actual modulation, the cadence pattern of the motet being f-c — g — f-f-f-f — g-g-b flat-g — f-c-f-f.

Although the Burgundian tradition of writing *ad modum tubae* may have its part in passages like this, and although (in conformity with this tradition) a trace of traditional polyphony is preserved in the canonic treatment of tenor and bass in our first example, the novelty of this uninhibited outburst of semi-polyphonic triad writing is obvious; the style of these passages is unparalleled at least in the Milan manuscripts. The deliverance of sound from traditional counterpoint — the revolutionary principle which is the most important Italian contribution to the music of Josquin's period (if we recognize the Italian lauda [43] as sufficient material proof for this far-reaching assumption) — must have made a singular impression on the young composer who had just arrived in Italy and who had written but a short time ago an extremely "Burgundian" composition like "Omnium bonorum plena".

Even more important, however, than the occasional expeditions into the unknown country of "Italian sound" are the experiments with musical form, reminiscent of, but developed far beyond anything realized in, the "Galeazescha". Again strict repetion (instead of the variation principle of "Hodie nobis de Virgine") is used, especially repetition of non-imitative duets, preferably with contrasting high and low pairs of voices, combined more often than before with repetition of the text, and accentuated further by strict, even mechanical juxtaposition of sections without the least overlapping of phrases.

While the first and second motets are composed of juxtaposed non-imitative and slightly overlapping imitative sections, closely following the lines and verses of the text, but without repetitions, the formal experiments begin with the third motet. Again, the musical form is closely connected with the text, but by repetition of musical sections alone a self-sufficient musical form is developed:

m.	1-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	19-20	21-22	22-24	24-27
music	A	A′	B	B′	C	C	D	E
voices	4		4	3-4	2	2	4	
cadence	c	f	c	f	c	c	d	f

The distribution of fermatas, the gradual thinning to duet-writing in the middle of the motet and the correspondence of two non-imitative sections *à 4* at the beginning and end bear witness to an unusual sense of formal lucidity and balance; the careful alternation of cadences on *finalis* and *confinalis* (the cadence on d shortly before the end being prepared by two

[43] Cf. *Die mehrstimmige italienische Laude um 1500. Das 2. Laudenbuch des Ottaviano dei Petrucci,...* eingeleitet und hrsg. von Knud Jeppesen... (und) Viggo Brøndal, Leipzig-Kopenhagen 1935, Introduction, passim.

cadences on c and having a decidedly culminative effect) reveal a conscious use of tonal proportions quite unusual in its time.

The fourth motet opens with alternating non-imitative duets of equal length and constantly changing voice combination. Four-voice polyphony, again without imitations, is reached after 27 measures. Only the last section (m. 40-47) uses imitation, but the uncolorated plainsong melody is treated in the same rudimentary technique of imitation used in "Hodie nobis de Virgine". Though repetitions are used only in some duets, a formalistic treatment of text is obvious, since not even the logical structure of the verses is maintained, the text being cut into small irregular sections mechanically adapted to regular musical phrases:

Ave Domine Jesu Christe,	S — T_1
vita dulcis	T_2— B
et mitis, praemium nostrum,	T_1— B
caritas summa,	T_2— B
fons amoris,	S — A
pax dulcedo,	T_1— B
pax dulcedo,	S — T_2
requies,	A — B
requies	T_1— T_2
nostra, vita perennis.	S — A
Verbum Patris hodie	T_2— B
processit de Virgine ...	a 4 etc.

The Sanctus motet begins exactly like the first and second motets of the cycle. A free "Bar" follows (a a′ b), consisting of a c. f. distributed between altus and tenor (a in the altus, a′ and b in the tenor), the other voices accompanying without repetitions. The last section, comprising more than a third of the complete motet (m. 20-35), is built symmetrically of a pervading imitation in the usual rudimentary technique, two identical imitative duets (B-A and T-S) and a repetition of the pervading imitation with a final cadence added:

A B B A′

The sixth motet, "Adoramus te, Christe", is even more clearly built. The opening text, used *ad Elevationem,* is set in syllabic chordal declamation like the Elevatio sections of the other motet cycles, but even more sonorously since the opening and final chord as well as the final chords of the intermediate cadences consistently make use of full triads instead of the traditional 1-5-8 chords. (In the "Galeazescha" triads had been used for the corresponding chords of m. 1, 2 and 4, in "Hodie nobis de Virgine" for the first intermediate cadence only.) The intensified feeling for the new "Italian sound" is thrown into relief once more by this detail. The second part of the motet is constructed completely of repetitions:

m.	12-15	16-19	20-21	22-23	23-25	26-28	28-32
music	A	A′	B	B	C	D	C′
voices	4	4	2	2	4	4	4

The seventh motet is strongly reminiscent of the first in the order of c. f. sections, the technique of their contrapuntal treatment and even in melodic details. Due to this relation, repetitions do not occur before the end, where the two final lines of the text are treated in identical sections of pervading imitation.

The last motet opens, like the fourth, with alternating duets and is built almost completely of repetitions, but disposition of the text is taken into consideration much more consistently than in the fourth motet. There is a fairly regular alternation of cadences on the *finalis* and other steps (b flat, d, c and a sixth-chord on a in m. 29) reminiscent of the third motet of the cycle:

m.	1-4	5-8	8-11 [44]	12-14	14-16	16-18	19-20	21-23
music	A	A′	B(A″)	C	D	E	(D′ c. f. alone repeated	E′)
cadence	f	f	a	f	b flat	f	b flat	f

m.	23-24	24-26	27-29	30-32	32-35	35-39
music	F	F′	G	H	G′	H′
cadence	d	f	c (a^6)	f	c	f

Apart from the famous "Omnium bonorum plena" the *motetti missales,* written probably in 1474-75 while the composer served at the ducal chapel in Milan, are perhaps the earliest compositions of Compère which have been preserved. It is the more astonishing therefore that they clearly present most of the stylistic features which are later to characterise the "Italian" motet style of Josquin's middle and late years: utmost formal simplicity and lucidity, developed at least partially from the text, pervading imitation, duet writing, sensitiveness to "Italian" full sound and to the basic relations of modern tonality (dominant-tonic tension), especially in cadences. There is, however, one and perhaps the decisive device of the later "Italian" motet style scarcely anticipated in these works — text interpretation by means of contrast and analogy, word painting and tone symbolism. On the contrary, the text is used only as a means to establish musi-

[44] These three sections ("Da pacem, Domine . . .") taken as a formal unit are one of the best examples of the precedence of formal text execution, musical invention and form above all other considerations. Although the first few notes (f-e-f-g-a-g) are obviously inspired by the plainsong, the melody is abandoned instantly, and a simple musical „bar" form is developed from this opening motif and with careful attention to the formal disposition of the text.

cal form. Verse, line, rhyme, sometimes even the logical structure are copied in musical form, marked by cadences, changes of rhythm and meter, of contrapuntal technique and of number and combination of voices, but musical repetitions are built regardless of textual progressions or repetition, and sometimes even regardless of the formal and logical structure of the text; the meaning of the words, their contrasts and analogies and their picturesque possibilities are very rarely expressed by musical means. Formal as well as technical problems are dominating; the development of audibly symmetrical form, the delimitation of small sections, the deliverance of imitation from the bounds of strict canon, the adaptation of the new and forceful impulses of "Italian" rhythm and harmony are pursued with the one-sidedness and determination typical of a youthful and experimenting mind under the influence of a new and revolutionary musical conception. It is this very experimental state of development which makes it probable that the later "Italian" motet style was first tried out in the *motetti missales* of Compère and his Milanese contemporaries and colleagues; and since these works are probably the very first ones written after the composer's arrival in Italy, it is further possible that at least some of their "Italian" features are of actual Italian origin [45].

[45] As to probably typical "Italian" details of style, see above, note 24. Of course, the hypothesis of their Italian origin does not exclude the possibility that similar stylistic features were independently developed elsewhere. As far as can be seen today, they appeared somewhat later (around 1500) in peripheral regions (Iberian peninsula, Germany) where folksong and art music had not yet drifted apart as far as in the Burgundo-Flemish tradition. They appeared mostly in decidedly popular Christmas motets and Christmas songs which are at least partly polyphonic treatments of spiritual folksongs with the typical *tripla* rhythm and swaying melody naively and charmingly illustrating the "Kindelwiegen" (cradle rocking). For examples from Germany see the easily available collection by Cornelius Freundt (*Weihnachtsliederbuch von Cornelius Freundt*, ed. K. Ameln, Kassel 1950), especially 8, 20, 26, 39, 52 ("Uns ist geborn ein Kindelein", the initial motif conspicuously similar to the third c. f. section from Compère's cycle "Ave Domine Jesu Christe"), 57. An Iberian example is the anonymous "O admirable commertium" in Co 12, 196'-198, using text and melody sections from "Virga Jesse floruit" and being memorable by its triumphant beginning.

Apart from the court dances mentioned above (note 24), this apparently widespread, deeply rooted and polygenetic tradition of Christmas folkmusic may well

The experimental style of these works is in itself a symptom of youthful boldness as well as of the uncertainty of a young composer who ranks just below the very first order. There is further evidence of a stylistic uncertainty and a lack of balance which reduces the aesthetic value of Compère's *motetti missales* considerably, however great their historical importance. Occasionally the whole stylistic outlook of the composer abruptly changes from one motet to the next, and everywhere elements of tradition stand against experimental features: passages in traditional *tp. perf.*, closely knit and without imitations, are followed by sections of pervading imitation or alternating duets; tenor and discant-tenor technique stand beside modern four-part setting, regulated from the bass; traditional Burgundian tripla motion beside dance-like Italian rhythm in *prolatio maior* sections; traditional tenor-c. f. technique beside variation chains of stereotyped melodic formulas; formally undifferentiated motion of all voices beside sequence of small juxtaposed sections and beside spacious sectional repetitions and symmetrical forms; cyclic unity by means of a recurring *cantus prius factus* beside plainsong setting with a new c. f. in each motet or section and beside motets free from any *cantus prius factus*.

It stands to reason that a young composer showing such obvious signs of stylistic immaturity did not invent the modern stylistic elements of these works single-handedly, and indeed many of them can be found in most of the other Ambrosian motet cycles preserved in the Milan and Munich manuscripts. The *motetti missales* of Gaspar van Weerbeke [46] are frequently, though not regularly, divided into two parts by change of mensuration; subsections are built according to the text form and by the musical means known from Compère's cycles; the Elevatio sections are stressed by fermata-marked block chords; in both cycles variation chains in the tenor, built mostly on the melodic formula g-d′-g in "Ave mundi Domina", are used instead of a consistent c. f., much as they are used in Compère's "Hodie nobis de Virgine"; sectional repetitions are used at least occasionally. On the other hand, the old-fashioned *tp. perf.* beginning without imitations is scarcely used, whereas most of the motets begin in *tp. imperf. dimin.* with frequent imitations, and the melodic phrases are mostly short, well balanced and given to syllabic text treatment. Although the traditional

have had its influence on the new rhythmic and melodic idiom of the Milanese motet cycles. It is revealing that the "Netherlanders", educated in the great tradition of a highly developed *ars musica*, had to come to Italy, where a similar tradition had been broken for approximately fifty years, to learn again about the stimulus of folksong on art music. One generation later, the French chanson had changed under a similar influence, and again one generation later (or even earlier) instrumental music in the Netherlands and elsewhere followed the path.

[46] Cf. Croll, *op. cit.*, 179 sqq.

S-T frame is discernible in four-voice sections, the whole stylistic outlook of the two cycles is much more modern, similar to the typical Italian motet around 1500, and quite uniform in appearance. The most speculative and old-fashioned devices of Compère's works — canonic imitation and regular sequence of mensuration signs — are conspicuously absent.

The motet cycle of Gafurius, "Salve, mater salvatoris" is a strangely unbalanced work, lacking the cyclic unity and bold modernisms of Compère's cycles, as well as the stylistic unity and aesthetic perfection of Gaspar's works. The text is compiled from sequences *de B.M.V.* and from litany-like invocations, first to Saint Sebastian (against the plague) and other saints, then to God the Father and Christ and lastly to the Holy Virgin; tonality and clef combination are changed within the cycle; plainsong melodies are cited occasionally but no consistent c. f. is used; while short *tripla* sections are frequently though irregularly inserted, *tp. imperf. dimin.* is dominating. Imitations, alternating duets, contrasting declamatory sections and even fermata-crowned block chords occur frequently, but sectional repetitions are used nowhere, and the abundant use of the octave-leap cadence looks strangely old-fashioned in an otherwise modern surrounding.

The anonymous motet group "Nativitas tua" probably intended and used as motet cycle *loco missae* [47] shows a somewhat closer connection with Compère's works, especially with "Ave Domine Jesu Christe", but is very old-fashioned on the whole. Cyclic unity is achieved by different means: identical or closely connected opening sections of all motets except the third, plainsong c.f. in the first and probably in the third motet in traditional S-T setting, and a recurring chanson-like tenor c.f. which is sung completely or partly, with or without insertions, in the fourth, fifth, sixth and last motet. Most of the motets are divided into two parts, and as in Compère's "Ave Domine Jesu Christe" only the traditional time signatures are used in traditional combinations like O-Ȼ, Ȼ-Ø or Ȼ-Ȼ 3, whereas C 3 and O 3 do not occur. Even more old-fashioned is the contrapuntal style: imitations are used sparingly and mostly within the archaic S-T frame; alternating duets are scarcely and sectional repetitions nowhere used; syllabic text declamation does not appear, and more often than not no attempt is made to build discernible and audible musical forms. Chordal (though not syllabic) progression in heavy four-voice setting with frequent archaic additional notes ("Klangzusatznoten") [48] is the dominating contrapuntal technique. The two anonymous cycles in M 3154, though of far greater aesthetic perfection, are very similarly built.

[47] Cf. above, note 10.

[48] Cf. Besseler, *Bourdon and Fauxbourdon,* Leipzig 1950, 171 sqq.

The principal dissimilarity between these Ambrosian motet cycles and Compère's *motetti missales* lies in the latter's singular position between "Burgundian" tradition and "Italian" progressiveness. They are evidently much more modern than the anonymous cycle mentioned above and (in some respects) the cycle by Gafurius, but on the other hand they lack the consistency and stylistic unity of Gaspar's work. Compère's experiments, so astonishing for their time, are again and again hampered by archaic features and by a marked inclination towards the typical speculative devices of the "Flemish" and "Burgundian" composers, apparent in the regular sequence of mensuration signs and in the tendency to canonic imitations. As is often the case with Compère, the undercurrent to all modernisms and boldly "fashionable" techniques in these works is a strong traditionalism. But what in some later works will become a synthesis of exceptional aesthetic perfection is now a sometimes magnificent, sometimes but crude juxtaposition of disparate elements.

THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY VARIATION AND BAROQUE COUNTERPOINT

IMOGENE HORSLEY

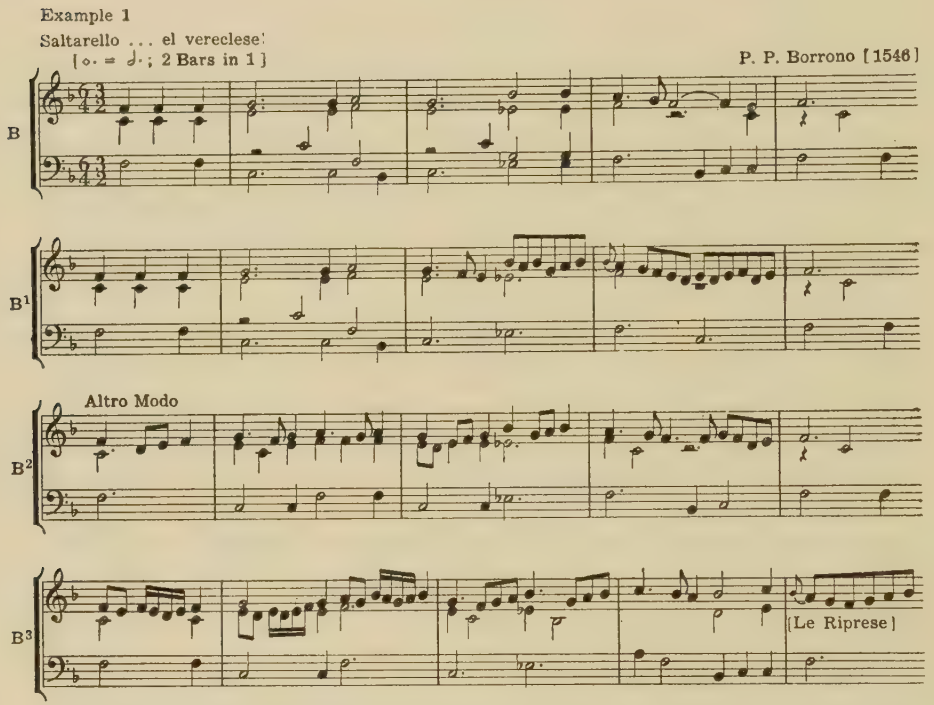
Perhaps because it struck so obviously at the roots of the *ars perfecta,* the introduction of the use of unprepared dissonance as a means of expression in polyphonic music was attended by intense theoretical controversy. In view of the strong stand of the "old guard" theorists on dissonance treatment it is amusing to note that another musical procedure which seems, at least to modern view, to be equally destructive of sixteenth-century contrapuntal ideals — the control of polyphonic texture by chords rather than free combinations of consonant intervals — managed first to exist side-by-side with the old polyphony and then to become an essential feature of the new without attracting the least theoretical notice. This may have been because this new technique appears first in popular music, which was of no great concern to theorists, or because it was used predominantly in instrumental music which was still considered less significant than vocal music; most probably they were not aware of all the implications of the new procedure, since it did not affect dissonance treatment. At any rate, the new technique appears, unheralded, fairly early in the sixteenth century, and the first indications of its existence are, clearly, hints of its pre-existence as an improvisatory practice.

From the publication in Milan, in 1536, of Antonio Casteliono's *Intabolatura de leuto di diversi autori,* Italian tablatures which contain settings of the popular dances normally include not only the single dance, but also one or more variations upon it [1]. Since, for practical purposes, the original dance music must often have had to be repeated to give the dancers time to finish their dance sequence, the logical conclusion is that these written-out variations are an approximation for the amateur of what took place when trained musicians played for the dance: the dance was repeated, with improvised variations, until the dancers were finished.

We cannot, of course, be sure of the exact style of these improvised variations. If dances were played by an ensemble of melody instruments, and the original dance was polyphonic, the variations were no doubt made

[1] For a history of these early variations, see Imogene Horsley, *The Variation before 1580* (Dissertation, Radcliffe College, 1954, unpublished).

in accordance with the prevailing technique of diminution [2]. If, like the *bassadanza,* they were improvised above a *cantus firmus,* they were undoubtedly polyphonic. But the new Italian dances such as the *Pavana* and the *Passamezzo* have a strongly chordal texture, especially in their lute and keyboard versions. (The first line of Example 1 [3] shows the homophonic style characteristic of the *Pavana* and like dances.) In the second book of



[2] Examples of this technique applied to vocal polyphonic works can be found in Ernest T. Ferand, *Die Improvisation in Beispielen aus neun Jahrhunderten Abendländischer Musik* (Cologne, 1956).

[3] Pietro Paulo Borrono, "Saltarello Secondo [to the Pavana, La Bella Iudea] detto el Vercelese" in Francesco da Milano and Pietro Paulo Borrono, *Intabulatura di lauto ... libro secondo* (Venice, 1546), ff. 24v-25. The ornaments in the fourth measure of B^1 and the fifth measure of B^3 are an approximation of an undefined ornament used by Borrono in this print. He makes no mention of it in his text, but it is obviously an ornament since it always is in addition to the time values making up a full measure. They have no specifically assigned rhythmic value — that is, there is never any new rhythmic sign given to them, so that if transcribed exactly they would always have the rhythmic value of the preceding note, although in many cases this is not logical. In Rudolff Wyssenbach's *Tabulaturbuch uff die Lutten* (Zürich, 1550) some of Borrono's works from this print are republished. Wyssenbach points out these ornaments ("mordants"), but states that their use requires oral instruction. (Introduction, f. 2).

his *Tratado de glosas,* [4] Diego Ortiz gives examples of three types of variations that can be improvised by a *violone* accompanied by a *cembalo:* first, melodies improvised by the *violone* over the old *bassadanza* tenor, *La Spagna;* then, melodies improvised upon already composed polyphonic works; and, finally, melodies created over a series of chords based upon the new Italian dance "tenors". All the varying is done by the *violone,* the *cembalo* merely playing the unchanged "theme", but there is a great difference between the melodies made when the theme is a set of slow-moving chords and those produced against the older *cantus firmus* and the polyphonic vocal works.

This new musical dimension is even more obvious in the variations given to the dances in the Italian tablatures. The whole being played on one instrument, the variations have at the same time more scope and more organization. Here the variations are created within, not just around, the given framework. If, as seems likely, this style was used when variations on these dances were improvised on instruments capable of producing chordal and polyphonic textures, then this style was a common element of popular music from early in the sixteenth century. Certainly when it appears in the tablature prints it is a well-established technique.

In the early dance variations two different formal structures are evident. In the first, which is associated with the *Pavana* (and related dances), variations occur within the dance form itself; each strain is repeated in a florid version before going on to the next. This clearly corresponds to a performance practice that endured well into the eighteenth century — the improvisation of an ornamented variation of a dance section when a repeat is indicated in the score. When a dance in this form is the subject of variations a complex form results (AA^1 BB^1 CC^1; A^2A^3 B^2B^3 C^2C^3 etc.) — a form used to a great extent at a later period by the English Virginalist composers.

In the second form, commonly found in the *Passamezzo* (and related dances), a single strain is repeated with continuous variations. It is characteristic of the *Passamezzo* that a very few themes are used over and over by dance composers [5]; indeed, these few melodies (*Passamezzo antico, Passamezzo moderno, Romanesca,* etc.) are adopted soon for "serious" variations, their use extending far into the Baroque period. These themes appeared in the lowest part and acted as a series of chord roots [6]. Even

[4] Rome, 1553. Modern edition, ed. Max Schneider (Berlin, 1913 and Kassel, 1936).

[5] The most common are discussed in Otto Gombosi, "Italia, Patria del Basso Ostinato," in *Revista Musicale,* VII (1934), pp. 14-25.

[6] The realization in simple chords of these basses can be seen in Ortiz, *op. cit.,* in the *cembalo* parts for the last eight *ricercadas* (those upon the "Italian tenors").

when, in the more complex variations, the bass melody might disappear, the implied chords still regulated the music; if other chords were interpolated, these chords still remained the basic skeleton of the whole. Since these themes were incomplete, being single melodies, their first statement in the dance is also the first variation of the set.

In the majority of cases, each of these form types is also associated with a specific variation procedure [7]. In the first, the melody and accompanying harmonies of the original are kept, and the main technique used is the application of diminutions to the melody, sometimes accompanied by appropriate changes in the accompaniment texture. In the second, the composer continually creates new music within a prescribed harmonic framework.

In both of these, he is working in a new way. Even in the first, where he is using a technique commonly applied to composed polyphonic works, the orientation is new; he is working in a homophonic style dominated by a fixed harmonic structure. He may still be making passages about a given melody, but his new melody is controlled not just by a given melodic line but also by a strong gravitation toward the members of the governing chords.

The second strain of a dance of this type (B), its immediate varied repeat (B^1), and two further variations (B^2 and B^3) from the *altro modo* (variation) are shown in Example 1. The variations are formed by the application of diminutions to the melody and slight changes in the accompaniment. The increase in complexity from variation to variation is typical, as is the use of repeated rhythmic and melodic figures only in the later variations. Also typical is the switch of the melody to the next adjacent chord tone when the original is abandoned (seen here in the last 2 measures of strain B^3).

Variations in which the harmony alone is kept make much greater demands upon the composer's musical imagination. As in the variations shown above, the composers first work with free *passaggi* before introducing strict figuration. Here, of course, the *passaggi* are not limited to a preexistent melody, but move freely through a texture created by the composer. The important thing is that the defining limits of the *passaggi* are now chord tones within a slow harmonic rhythm, and the composer is working in a field where the orientation is new and the restrictions different. He is using a technique, and apparently using it unselfconsciously, that is

[7] In the dances. Once these forms are used for "art" variations, the techniques become interchangeable and new ones, such as the use of the theme as a wandering *cantus firmus* (taken over from the learned polyphonic style) or change of meter (borrowed from the paired dance, but not found within the variations for a single dance) are introduced.

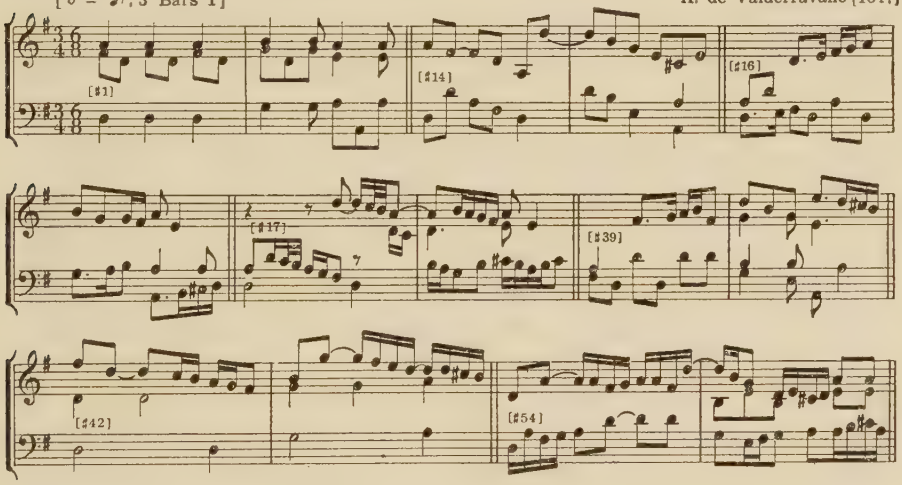
revolutionary for his time and one that is to become characteristic of later periods.

Perhaps because of the scope allowed for creative imagination, this type of variation became a favorite for virtuoso improvisation; although it appears first in Italian dance prints it comes to an early flowering as an art variation with the Spanish vihuelists [8]. In addition to the common Italian *Passamezzo* basses, a short 2-measure pattern taken from the Spanish *romance, Conde Claros,* is a favorite of the vihuelists. It is upon this theme that Francesco de Salinas heard the famous Italian lutenist, Francesco da Milano, improvise before the court of Pope Paul III [9]. Because of its brevity, it is usually presented in a larger number of variations than the shorter themes, making more demands upon the composers in searching out new textures and new melodic and rhythmic ideas within its harmonic skeleton. A few of Anriquez de Valderravano's variations on this theme, reproduced in Example 2 [10], give an idea of the style involved.

Example 2

Diferencias sobre el tenor del Conde Claros

[𝅗𝅥 = ♪; 3 Bars 1] A. de Valderravano [1547]



[8] Though the first publication in which the *Passamezzo* themes appear is Pierre Attaignant, *Dix-huit basses dãces* ... (Paris, 1529), the first variations are found in the Casteliono print. In the Italian tablatures, although both types are found, the *Pavana* predominates until mid-century, when the *Passamezzo* becomes the most important. But highly developed variations in the *Passamezzo* form are found in Spanish tablatures from the publication of Luys de Narvaez, *Los seys libros del Delphin* (Valladolid, 1538), transcribed and edited by Emilio Pujol in *Monumentos de la Musica Española,* III (Barcelona, 1945).

[9] Francesco de Salinas, *De musica libri septem* (Salamanca, 1557), p. 342.

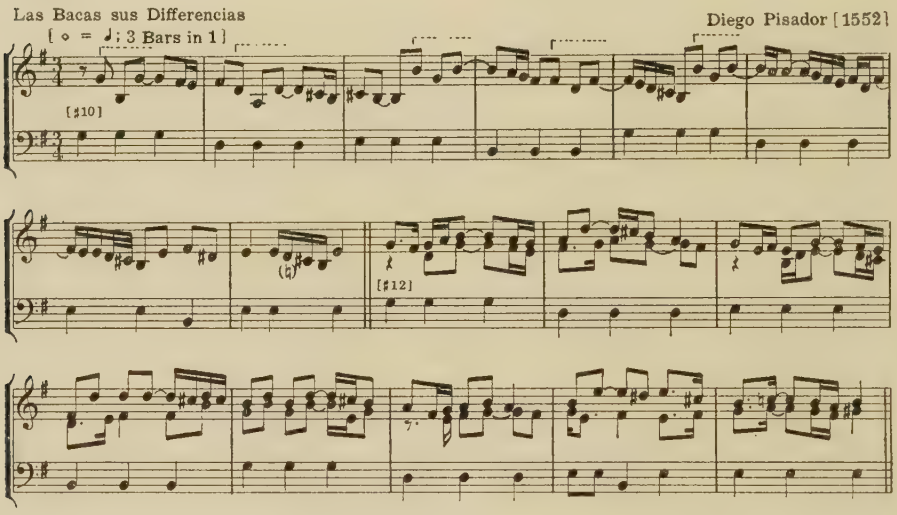
[10] Anriquez de Valderravano, "... otras Diferencias sobre el tenor del Conde Claros" from his *Libro de musica de vihuela, intitulado Silva de Sirenas* (Valladolid, 1547), ff. IXCv-CIII.

While the musical results are not always spectacular, they show an imaginative skill for speculation within chordal material, and a clear sense of what are chord and non-chord tones.

In looking over many of these variations one becomes aware of the need for further organization beyond the repetition of a chord progression. Composers seem to prefer first free *passaggi,* using stricter figurations in the later variations in the group [11], but as the century progresses there is growing dependence upon figuration to give unity. Especially in the art variation do we find composers' inventiveness concentrated on finding new figurations as well as new textures. The use of motives using chord tones on the points of rhythmic and melodic stress seems to be the logical outgrowth of composition within chord-dominated texture.

The tenth variation from Diego Pisador's *Las Bacas sus differencias* [12] (Example 3) shows a melody created from just such a motive, a melody

Example 3.



whose contour is controlled by chord tones. The theme (the *Romanesca*) is used simply as a *cantus firmus,* but its function is more than that of a simple *cantus firmus,* since its notes are clearly the roots of the chords that

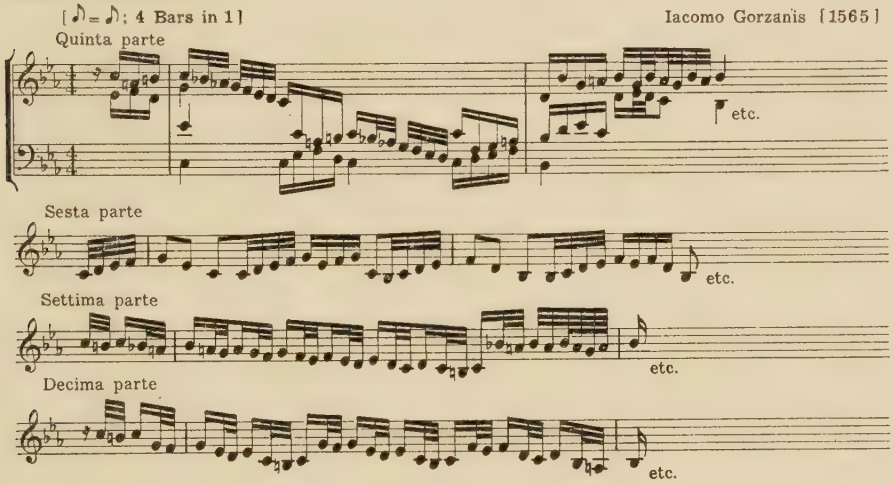
[11] This may be a reflection of the dislike, on the part of Renaissance composers, of exactly repeated figures. (See Bernard Meier, "The Musica Reservata of Adrianus Petit Coclico and its relationship to Josquin" in *Musica Disciplina* X (1956), p. 80.) It may also be due to a liking of the virtuoso elements involved in rapid *passaggi.* Examples of this type of variation have not been included here, mainly because they are less typical of what is new in the style of these variations.

[12] Diego Pisador, "Las Bacas sus differencias ..." in his *Libro de musica de vihuela* ... (Salamanca, 1552), ff. iiv-iii.

control the upper part. The twelfth variation from the same set is less rigorously controlled by motives, but is a striking example of a trio texture common in the Baroque — two closely related upper parts above a bass that controls the harmony.

Certain variations from Iacomo Gorzanis' *Pass'e mezo Anticho* [13] show even more clearly the type of line that results from a need for organization within a harmonic framework characterised by a slow harmonic rhythm (Example 4). The *quinta parte* uses a pattern which includes interpolated

Example 4.
Pass'e mezo Anticho



harmonies (significantly having a dominant relationship to the basic chords of the theme). In the sixth, seventh and tenth variations the bass is dropped out altogether and the variation consists of a single line written within the implied harmonic framework. These variations of Gorzanis, especially, have a definite Baroque flavor.

The question always arises: is the resemblance of the later style to the earlier proof that the two are tangibly connected, or is the similarity due to the fact that, given similar musical premises, similar solutions will result? There are elements of truth in both propositions. But the use of the new style in these early variations — clearly connected with improvisation and derived from popular practices — shows that the new technique was a part of the total musical life of the sixteenth century, ready to be adopted and adapted when the composer needed and wanted it.

Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.

[13] Iacomo Gorzanis, "Pass'e mezo Anticho" from his *Intabolatura de liuto ... quarto libro* (Venice, 1565). The pages are not numbered; this is the first piece in the tablature.

TOWARDS A DEFINITIVE STUDY OF PRE-RESTORATION ANGLICAN SERVICE MUSIC

PETER LE HURAY

During the past fifty years or so several books have been published dealing in whole or in part with various aspects of Anglican service music. In 1901 Myles Foster produced a detailed study of the Anglican anthem and seven years later William Bumpus brought out the first volume of his two-volume history of *English Cathedral Music*. In more recent times Dr. Fellowes has completed a concise and useful introduction to the history of cathedral music as well as important monographs on William Byrd and Orlando Gibbons. And finally there is Denis Stevens' *Thomas Tomkins* which came out in the tercentenary year of the composer's death.

The books by Bumpus and Foster are now very much out of date, for a great deal of original material has come to light since the beginning of the century. Full credit must nevertheless be given to Foster who was the first and only scholar (with the notable exception of Denis Stevens) to base his work upon a methodical study of the primary sources. The source lists of anthems which he printed in his book are by no means complete, however. The editors of *Tudor Church Music* also made some attempt to catalogue the sources of 16th and early 17th century Anglican service music, and a card index which they compiled is now deposited in the London University Library, together with a very considerable collection of photostats. Unfortunately they seem to have set about their work in a very haphazard way, ignoring sources or unspecified sections of sources without apparent reason; the value of the T.C.M. collection in its present state, therefore, is small [1].

The present account is based upon a completely new thematic catalogue of pre-Restoration services and anthems compiled from a collation of all the known sources of the music [2]. Such a study is, I venture to suggest, essential to any serious work on the subject, for nearly all the music of this period is in manuscript. Both manuscript and printed sources divide into

[1] The completion of the collection by microfilm would not be unduly expensive and should be undertaken.

[2] It would be rash, however, to claim that this catalogue is complete, though every care has been taken to make it so. The author would be most grateful for details of any sources that are not discussed below.

two groups [3]; these I shall call for convenience the 'secular' and 'liturgical' groups. The secular sources are all centred in the major English and American Libraries and are in the main well indexed and described in printed library catalogues. I have listed these sources therefore with very little comment (see table 2, p. 192). Many of the liturgical sources, on the other hand, are difficult to get at; nearly all are housed in small cathedral and college libraries, and printed catalogues are few and far between. My chief task in this brief survey, then, is to discuss in some detail all the pre-Restoration liturgical sources that I have been able to find; I shall also say something about one or two of the important Restoration sources since these contain much late 16th and early 17th century music.

In 1641 John Barnard, minor-canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, published his *First Book of Selected Church Musick*. This was the first comprehensive anthology of the kind to be printed, and Barnard evidently intended to follow it up with a second and even a third set of books. But the time was not ripe for such an enterprise. In that very year Archbishop Laud was impeached by the Commons on a charge of High Treason. From then on the future of elaborate liturgical music hung very much in the balance, though choral services continued in most chapels and cathedrals for three more years at least. Small wonder, then, that Barnard was left with some unsold copies of the *First Book* on his hands. Up to 1641 and indeed to 1644 when the *Book of Common Prayer* was abolished by Act of Parliament, cathedral and chapel choirs sang the daily services from sets of manuscript part-books compiled on the spot, in many cases, by local copyists. Under such conditions no two sets of books are likely to have contained exactly the same selection of services and anthems. It is most unfortunate then that so many liturgical sources have been lost; it is equally unfortunate that so many of the extant sources are incomplete. This only serves to emphasise the need, however, for an exact and systematic collation of all the available material.

To see how many sets of part-books have been lost since 1644 we have only to turn to the following table; in it are listed all the major cathedrals, chapels and churches where daily services were sung:

[3] See le Huray, 'The English Anthem, 1580-1640', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* LXXXVI, (1959-60), p. 1.

Place	Size of choir		
	men	boys	
Bristol Cathedral	12	6	
Canterbury Cathedral	24	10	+
Carlisle Cathedral	12	6	
Chapel Royal	32	12	* 4
Chester Cathedral	12	8	
Chichester Cathedral	12	8	+
Christ Church, London.	Ten or twelve children from Christ's Hospital used to sing in the choir here.		
Durham Cathedral	22	10	*, +
Ely Cathedral	16	8	*, +
Eton College	8	10	
Exeter Cathedral	20	14	
Gloucester Cathedral	12	8	*, +
Hereford Cathedral	16	7	
King's College, Cambridge			*
Lambeth Palace Chapel			*
Lichfield Cathedral	20	10	+
Lincoln Cathedral	12	8	+
Magdalen College, Oxford.			
Manchester Collegiate Church	6	4	
Newark Parish Church	14	6	
New College, Oxford			
Norwich Cathedral	16	8	+
Oxford, the Cathedral. (Christ Church)	16	8	*, +
Pembroke College, Cambridge			*
Peterborough Cathedral	16	8	+
Peterhouse, Cambridge			*
Rochester Cathedral	12	8	
St. Asaph Cathedral	8	4	
St. David's Cathedral	8	4	
St. Paul's Cathedral	18	10	* +
Salisbury Cathedral	12	8	
Southwell Minster	12	6	*
Trinity College, Cambridge			
Wells Cathedral	14	6	
Westminster Abbey	14	10	+
Wimborne Minster	6	4	+
Winchester Cathedral	24	10	+
Winchester College	(10?)	(6?)	
St. George's Chapel, Windsor	12	10	*, +
Worcester Cathedral	20	10	
York Minster	12	6	*, +

* One or more pre-Restoration part-books have survived.

\+ One or more post-Restoration part-books have survived.

[4] In addition to the post-Restoration music books, there is a book of anthem texts (Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Rawl. poet. 23) which belonged to the Chapel Royal about 1635.

It will be seen from this that almost half of the surviving sources date from pre-Restoration times. So much for the idea that the Roundheads were responsible for all the damage! Undoubtedly books were destroyed by some of the more fanatical soldiers, but many books — those at Durham and Ely for instance — were successfully hidden away until 1660, when they were once more put to good use. Much of the decay and destruction must, indeed, have been caused by everyday wear and tear; this is born out by the fact that very few treble part-books are still extant.

In the first table below are details of the pre-Restoration liturgical sources with brief accounts of their provenance and present location. Interestingly enough, the earliest of these sources is the Southwell tenor part-book of 1617; to find an earlier one we must go back to the time of Edward VI [5]. The reason for such a gap can only be guessed at. The printer John Day published a collection of services and anthems in 1650 [6], yet this contained no more than three complete services, two extra evening services and nineteen anthems, only a fraction of the music that would have been required for cathedral use [7]. Sets of manuscript part-books must therefore have been in use from the very earliest years of the Reformation. Yet the books that we now have date from the time of the High Church movement [8] and are no doubt closely connected with it.

List A: Choir part-books and organ books

Present Location	Provenance
Cambridge	
Pembroke College Library, Mss. Mus. 6. 1-6	The College Chapel, c. 1640: a, c, e, f, g, h
Peterhouse Library, no shelf marks; two sets of books known as the 'Caroline' part-books. These are at present deposited in the University Library	The College Chapel, c. 1635. Set 1, a, b, c, c2, d, g, h Set 2, a, b, c, e, f, g, h And an organ book
Peterhouse Library, Shelf Mark G. 5	The College Chapel, c. 1635. A folio *Book of Common Prayer* interleaved with music. a.

[5] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mss. Mus. E. 420-2 and British Museum, Mss. Roy. App. 74-6.

[6] A second edition came out five years later.

[7] Most of the music is for men's voices, too, which suggests that Day had designed his collection in the first place for parish church choirs.

[8] See S. Morison, *English Prayer Books* (Cambridge, 1949), p. 114 ff.

Durham	
The Chapter Library	The Cathedral, from c. 1620 Mss. A1-4 and 6: o Ms. C1: a or b Mss. C4-8: c and d Mss. C9-10 and 15: e and f Ms. C18: 9 Mss. E. 4-11: a, b, c, c2, e, f, g
Ely	
The Choir Library of the Cathedral	The Cathedral, from c. 1625. Mss. 1 and 4: o Ms. 28: e or f Ms. 29: g or h
Gloucester	
The Cathedral Library, no shelf mark; kept in the Library safe	The Cathedral, 1641: g
London	
British Museum, Add. Ms. 29289	Not known, c. 1630: c or d
Lambeth Palace Library, Ms. 764	Lambeth Palace Chapel?, c. 1630: g
Royal College of Music, Mss. 1045-51; now deposited in the Students Room of the British Museum	John Barnard's manuscript collection, c. 1625: a, b, c, d, e, f, h
New York	
The Public Library, Ms. Drexel 5469	King's College, Cambridge, c. 1620: o
Oxford	
Christ Church Library, Ms. 6	The Cathedral? c. 1640: o
1001	as above
1220-4	The Cathedral, c. 1640: d, e, f, g, h
St. John's College, Mss. 180 and 181	St. George's Chapel, Windsor? c. 1630: g
Tenbury	
St. Michael's College Library, Ms. 791	Salisbury Cathedral? c. 1630: o
Ms. 1382	Southwell Minster, 1617: f
Windsor	
St. George's Chapel Library, no shelf marks	The Chapel, 1640: d, e, f
York	
The Minster Library, Ms. M. 18. S	The Minster, c. 1618: a
Ms. M. 29. S	Durham Cathedral, c. 1630: g

a = medius decani; b = medius cantoris; c = contratenor dec.; c2 = 2nd. c. t. dec.; d = c. t. can.; d2 = 2nd. c. t. can.; e = tenor dec.; f = ten. can.; g = bass dec.; h = bass can.; o = organ book.

The Batten Organ Book

The best-known of the pre-Restoration sources is probably the so-called 'Batten' organ book at St. Michael's College, Tenbury. Dr. Fellowes describes it at length in his *English Cathedral Music,* p. 107:

> Batten's greatest contribution to Cathedral music is his famous organ book. This is an immense collection. It consists of 498 leaves, or nearly 1,000 pages, and with one trifling exception it is entirely in Batten's hand. The music contained in it no doubt represents a very large proportion of the English Cathedral music that existed at his time... Like other organ books of the period, it gives no more than a sketch of most of the compositions. But it is invaluable as containing the only known text of a very large number of services and anthems of this great era.

The book is indeed an important one. That it is in Adrian Batten's hand, however, is more than questionable. Dr. Fellowes accepts the traditional ascription on the grounds of the following passage which is to be found at the end of one of John Holmes' anthems: [9]

> all these songs of Mr. John Holmes, was prict from his owne hand prickinge: in ye yeare: 1635: by Adrian Batten, one of ye vickers of St. Paules in London: who sometimes was his scoller.

The arguments against the commonly held view are somewhat involved and would, I think, be clarified by a preliminary account of the format and contents of the book. The music seems to have been copied down as it came to hand since it is arranged in no discernible liturgical order. There are few blank leaves in the book and some are apparently missing at the end. Various directions are scattered about the pages, suggesting that the book was indeed used in performance, unlike Barnard's manuscript part-books (Royal College of Music Mss. 1045-51).

The composers represented in the anthology are:

Amner: 4 (anthems) and E (service)
Bath: 1, 0
Batten: 3, 0
Browne: 1, 0
Bull: 4, 0
Byrd: 8, 1, E
Cheyney: 1, 0
Child: 2, 0
Cranford: 6, E
Davies: 2, 0
Deering: 1, 0
East: 1,0
J. Farrant: 0, E
R. Farrant: 1, 1
A. Ferrabosco: 1, 0
Fido: 1, 0

[9] f. 400: the page is reproduced in facsimile: E. H. Fellowes, *The Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St. Michael's College, Tenbury* (Paris, 1934).

O. Gibbons: 17, 2
R. Gibbs: 1, 1
Giles: 15, 2
Heath: 1, E
Hilton: 6, E
J. Holmes: 17, E, E, E
T. Holmes: 3, 0
Hooper: 8, 1, M, E
M. Jeffries: 1, 0
Juxon: 1, 0
Morley: 4, 1
J. Mundy: 2, 0
W. Mundy: 1, 0
[J.] Parsons: 3, 1
Pisinge: 1, 0
Portman: 5, 0
Shepherd: 0, E
Edward Smith: 2, 0
Stonard: 3, 0
Stubbes: 1, E
Tallis: 1, 0
R. Tomkins: 3, 0
T. Tomkins: 32, M,M,E.E,E
Tozar: 1, 0
E. Tucker: 2, 0
Wanless: 1, 0
Ward: 5, E, E
Weelkes: 17, 4, E, E
Wigthorpe: 2, 0
Wilkinson: 3, 0
Woodeson: 11, M, E

M = Morning Canticles only.
E = Evening Canticles only.

The contents of the book are arranged as follows:

ff. 1—28v	Services and anthems by various Chapel Royal musicians
29—36v	Anthems by Giles, choirmaster of St. George's Chapel Windsor, and the Chapel Royal
37—86v	Services and anthems by miscellaneous composers
87—113v	Music by Woodeson, Giles' deputy at Windsor
114—128v	Anthems by Hooper, organist of the Chapel Royal
129—159v	Music by several Chapel Royal composers
160—213v	*Services and 20 anthems by Thomas Tomkins,* organist of the Chapel Royal and of Worcester Cathedral
214—326v	Miscellaneous services and anthems, many by Orlando Gibbons, organist of the Chapel Royal
327—332v	and 335—352. *Services and anthems by John Holmes,* organist of Salisbury Cathedral
352v—374	Miscellaneous anthems
374v—378	*Three anthems by Batten;* this is the only music in the book by this prolific composer
380—400	*The second group of pieces by John Holmes*
400v—427v	A group of services and anthems by Weelkes
428—456v	Miscellaneous services and anthems
457—464v	*Eight more anthems by Thomas Tomkins*
465—468v	Three anthems by Robert Tomkins, one of the King's musicians; no other source of this composer's church music is known
469—end	Services and anthems by Giles, and others

In 1624 Adrian Batten became a vicar-choral of St. Paul's and co-organist of the cathedral with John Tomkins; he remained at St. Paul's until he died in 1637. He wrote a great deal of church music, more it would seem than any other composer of his generation, Thomas Tomkins excepted. Although none of the pre-Restoration music books that belonged

to St. Paul's are now extant, we may, I think, assume that much of Batten's music was sung in the cathedral before the Civil War. John Barnard, one of Batten's associates there, included six of his anthems in his *First Book of Selected Church Musick* [10]. And Barnard copied no fewer than twenty-eight of Batten's anthems into his manuscript part-books. An analysis of the anthems in these books gives the following figures: Batten 28; Weelkes 12; Byrd 8; Giles and Hooper 6 each; Tomkins 5; Browne, Morley, Tallis and William Mundy 4; none of the other twenty-six composers have more than three anthems to their credit.

As Batten was one of the organists at St. Paul's, and as his music was evidently known and admired by John Barnard, we might expect to find much of it in the 'Batten' organ book. Yet the book contains only three of his anthems, and not one of his services. This, to begin with, is odd.

Other features of the book, too, lead to the conclusion that Batten cannot have been the writer. Here and there a short biographical note is appended after the name of a composer: 'John Amner, Organest of Eeely Church', for instance, or 'Edmund Hooper, Organest of Q:E:Chappell". Had Batten been the writer it seems unlikely that he would have gone to the lengths of describing himself as 'one of ye vickers of St. Paules *in London*" (the italics are mine). Nor is it likely that he would mistakenly have described Hooper as 'Organest of Q:E:Chappell', for he must have known Hooper quite well at Westminster Abbey [11].

The book contains a very great deal of music by a very minor composer, John Holmes, who was organist successively of Winchester and Salisbury [12]. Very little of Holmes' music is to be found elsewhere. This no doubt has encouraged scholars to believe that the book is in Batten's hand for, as we have seen, Batten was one of Holmes' pupils at Winchester. But no one has drawn attention to the fact that there are two large groups of pieces in the book by Holmes and that both groups were apparently copied from autographs:

> *Group 1*
> these songs of Mr. Holmes, was prict from ye coppies, wch he prict with his owne hande (f. 352)
>
> *Group 2*
> all these songs of Mr. John Holmes, was prict from his owne hand prickinge: in ye yeare: 1635: by Adrian Batten, one of ye vickers of St. Paules in London, who sometime was his scoller.

[10] There are nine anthems by Byrd in the collection and no more than five by any other composer.

[11] Batten sang at Westminster Abbey before he moved to St. Paul's; Hooper was one of the Abbey organists, and master of the choristers.

[12] There may well be two musicians of this name, both of whom were at Winchester and Salisbury; see Dora H. Robertson, *Sarum Close* (1938).

The difference in wording between the two groups is, I think, significant; the first might well be interpreted in this way: 'I, the writer, have used Holmes' autographs to prepare these copies' (f. 352): 'Adrian Batten copied out this music from Holmes' autographs in 1635. I have used Batten's copies' (f. 400).

So far we have been concerned to see why the organ book is probably not in Batten's hand. Let us now examine one or two possible alternatives. In the first place the book contains a preponderance of anthems by Chapel Royal musicians (Batten was never a Gentleman of the Chapel). Twelve of the top twenty composers belonged to the Chapel Royal or to his Majesty's Free Chapel of St. George at Windsor. There are 127 of their anthems in the organ book and only 47 by the other eight [13]. The copyist may then have been a member of one of the two royal choirs [14]. The contents of the book, moreover, reveal a markedly south-west-of-London bias in the Windsor-Chichester-Winchester-Salisbury direction. Very little of Weelkes' music, for instance, is to be found in most liturgical sources; but there is a great deal of it in the post-Restoration part-books at Wimborne Minster and in the 'Batten' organ book. And, as we have already seen, the organ book contains much of John Holmes' music, together with services and anthems by other Salisbury musicians and by Leonard Woodeson, another minor composer who sang in the choir at St. George's.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the book, however, is the immense amount of music by Thomas Tomkins which it contains: no fewer than 32 anthems (Weelkes, Gibbons and J. Holmes tie for the next place with 17 anthems each) and five services. This, I believe, provides an important clue to the identity of the writer. From the dates in the book (e.g. f. 40,1633 and f. 400,1635) we can say with some certainty that the task of copying took at least three years and that the copyist was already at work in 1633. He certainly had good contacts with Winchester, Chichester, Salisbury, St. George's Chapel and the Chapel Royal, and he seems to have known Thomas Tomkins particularly well — in many cases he abbreviated Tomkin's name to 'T.T.' [15] Moreover, the formula 'laus Deo', which appears at the foot of many a Tomkins autograph, is also to be found at the end of many pieces in the organ book, an indication that the writer may have had access to autographs.

[13] Taking all the anthems into consideration, we find that there are 138 by 'royal' musicians and only 70 by the others.

[14] Too much weight should not be attached to this argument, however, for most sources contain a great deal of music by 'royal' composers: see Peter le Huray, *op. cit., passim.*

[15] The only other abbreviation of this kind is 'T. W.' standing of course for Thomas Weelkes; this is comparatively rare.

I would suggest then that the most likely candidate is Giles Tomkins. He is not known to have composed any service music for the Anglican rites; the absence of such in the organ book therefore need not cause any difficulty. He spent much of his life as a church organist, first at Kings's College, Cambridge and then, from 1629 onwards, at Salisbury Cathedral in succession to John Holmes. In 1630 he was appointed a virginalist to King Charles I, and three years later he travelled to Scotland with the Chapel Royal choir as an organist. His musical hand might well be mistaken for that of Thomas Tomkins (his half brother), and his ordinary hand is very similar too [16]. So far I have been unable to trace more than a signature in Giles' hand [17], but for what it is worth, this supports my contention.

If Giles were the writer, it would be easy to account for the format and contents of the book. As the newly appointed organist of Salisbury, he may have decided to start a new organ book for his own use in the cathedral, and at the same time to introduce more Chapel Royal music into the repertoire (he would have had ample opportunity to hear this on his visits to London). At Salisbury the choir no doubt sang a fair amount of music by composers of the nearby cathedral [18]. As for Holmes' music, Giles Tomkins may well have copied down all that he could find at Salisbury (ff. 327-352), and on a subsequent visit to London he may have asked Batten for more of Holmes' work. Significantly enough, the first group of pieces by Holmes is followed by two of Edmund Tucker's anthems (Tucker was a lay-clerk at Salisbury until he died in 1631); the second group is preceded by the three Batten anthems, rather as though the copyist had out of politeness asked Batten for one or two of his own compositions when enquiring about Holmes. It is worth noting, too, that the organ book is the only source of service music by Robert Tomkins; Robert Tomkins, as far as we can tell, was never a professional church musician, but, like Giles, he was one of the King's musicians for the lutes, viols and voices [19]. To sum up then I would suggest that the 'Batten' organ book was started shortly before 1633, and that it was by no means complete in 1635. It may well have been compiled by Giles Tomkins, for it contains an unusually large number of services and anthems by Thomas, his halfbrother. Be that as it may, the scarcity of music by Batten in a collection which he is supposed to have assembled makes it unlikely that Batten can have been the writer.

[16] The chief difference being the 'e'; Thomas was using a Greek 'e' at this time.

[17] Public Record Office, 109/257.

[18] In 1613 James I visited Salisbury, and choirmen were engaged from Winchester, Windsor and London to augment the cathedral choir: no doubt friendly exchanges of the sort took place many times.

[19] He was first appointed in 1634: see Lafontaine, *The King's Musick*, p. 89.

The Southwell Tenor Book

The earliest of the sources, the Southwell tenor part-book at St. Michael's College, Tenbury, is one of a set of eight which a 'Mr. Jarvas Jones of Oxforde' presented to the Minster choir in 1617 (Jones was the son of a former prebendary of the Minster). It originally contained sixty-eight anthems, but a further thirteen anthems and two litanies were added at a later date, probably after the books reached Southwell. It measures only 7¾ inches by 3¾ inches and is thus very similar in size to the two 'royal' books at St. John's College, Oxford. Ff. 1-68 are in one very neat round hand and the underlay is particularly clear.

Although Jarvas Jones was the donor, the contents and arrangement of the book suggest that he may well have been guided in his choice of music by John Fido, a minor canon of Worcester. Only six of Fido's anthems are extant but they are all to be found in the tenor book, and four of the six are not to be found anywhere else. All but two of the other composers in the collection were (or had been) members of one of the two royal choirs; the exceptions are Strogers, about whom we know nothing, and Patrick, Tomkins' predecessor at Worcester. The book contains no fewer than fifteen anthems by Tomkins and sixteen by Byrd, Tomkins' 'ancient and much reverenced Master'. Had Fido compiled the books, he would very naturally have turned to Tomkins for music and advice [20]; Tomkins would in all probability have recommended music by Chapel Royal composers [21] and particularly by his 'reverenced Master'. We may note, in conclusion, that the six Fido anthems are signed 'John Ffidoe' and that the names of all other composers are without exception prefaced by the title 'Mr.' Perhaps Fido was also the copyist.

The Barnard Part-Books, Royal College of Music Mss. 1045-51

As only twenty-seven of the forty-seven anthems in the *First Book of Selected Church Musick* are to be found in Mss. 1045-51, it seems likely that Barnard must have owned at least two sets of manuscript part-books into which he copied music for later publication. Support for this thesis is to be found in the indices of the surviving set, several of which contain marginal notes to the effect that the pieces which 'have a prick before them are fitted for the presse and the printers, those that have a check before them the parts are all in these books'. Certainly the books cannot have been

[20] Fido was Tomkins' deputy at Worcester.

[21] Thomas was probably a 'Gentleman extraordinary' of the Chapel for some time before he became a full 'Gentleman' (between 1617 and 1620).

used by a choir, for much of the music that they contain is incomplete and two or more parts of a piece occasionally appear on different pages of the same book! [22]

The covers of the seven surviving books are stamped 'Aug. 21st MDCXXV I.B.' Much of the music may have been copied out by this date, since the edges of many of the pieces have been trimmed in the process of binding. The damage may have occurred, however, when the bindings were recently repaired; in this case the books may well have been started in 1625. One or two services and anthems were certainly added after this date, particularly in the bass book (Ms. 1051); the dates 1631 and 1634 are to be found on f. 127v and 128 of this volume, for instance.

British Museum, Add. Ms. 29289

This unusual pre-Restoration choir part-book would again appear to date from about 1625. Nothing is known of its early history. It contains thirty-four services, including a Creed in four and five parts by Batten dated 1629. This is followed by 'Mr. Child's Whole Service' in a later round hand. The British Museum authorities date the paper at 'about 1630'. Most of the music, however, is by 16th century composers; there are no less than eight anthems by Shepherd, eight by (William) Mundy, eight by Tallis and five by Tye. The remaining anthems are by Orlando Gibbons, Hooper and (?) Farrant (two each), and by Johnson, Strogers, Coste and White (one each); there is also one anonymous anthem.

St. John's College, Oxford, Mss. 180 and 181

There are two bass part-books of services and anthems in the library at St. John's College, Oxford. They are in one very elegant diamond hand and are clearly complementary, for no service or anthem is duplicated. Ms. 181 contains Michael East's 'As they departed', which the composer published in his sixth set of madrigals of 1624. If, as I would suggest, the books were used at St. George's Chapel, they must have been completed shortly after 1630, for they contain no music by William Child, a prolific composer who became a lay-clerk there in that year.

The cover of Ms. 181 is carefully stamped with the Royal Arms and motto, 'Honi soit qui mal y pense'. The book and its companion may therefore have been used either at St. George's or at the Chapel Royal. There is only a very limited agreement, however, between the Chapel Royal book

[22] Hooper's 'Sing unto the Lord' for instance; see Ms. 1051, ff, 29v and 30v.

of anthem texts [23] c. 1635 and these two books. The word-book contains the texts of 153 anthems by early 17th century musicians; the music to 65 of these has been lost, and, of the remainder, only 52 are to be found in Mss 180 and 181. Furthermore, both part-books contain a number of anthems which are not listed in the Chapel Royal word-book. There are more substantial grounds for believing that they may have come from St. George's; they contain a very great deal of music by Nathaniel Giles, who was master of the choristers there from 1585 until his death in 1634; they are also the unique source of anthems for 'St. George's Feast' by Tomkins and Giles [24]. Yet it is odd that there are only two anthems in the collection by John Mundy, a musician of some note and organist of St. George's from 1585 until 1630.

Lambeth Palace, Ms. 764

The bass book at Lambeth Palace is in a very similar hand. It contains some thirty-four anthems by early 17th century musicians, sixteen of which are also to be found in Mss. 180 and 181. Various features of notation, underlay and attribution would seem to show that these anthems had been copied from a common source by the same writer. Eight of the sixteen are anonymous in both collections:

O God of Gods (Hooper) [25]; O Lord God Almighty (Weelkes);
O Lord grant the King (Weelkes); O Lord I bow the knees (W. Mundy);
O praise God (White); O pray for the peace (Tomkins);
Thou art my king (Tomkins); Turn thou us (Tomkins).

The book is unlikely to have been used in the Chapel Royal for reasons which have already been advanced in connection with the St. John's books. Neither would it seem to have been used at St. George's, for it contains only two anthems by Giles and none by J. Mundy; the special St. George's Day anthems are also missing. But it may well have been designed for use in the Lambeth Palace Chapel, as choral services were restarted there shortly after Laud became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633.

King's College, Cambridge

An organ book in the New York Public Library, Ms. Drexel 5469, probably belonged to King's College Chapel both before and after the Restoration [26]. It is an oblong quarto volume of anthems, and it seems to have been compiled over a period of many years by one copyist. The book

[23] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Rawl. poet. 23.

[24] But the text of Tomkins' anthem is possibly the one copied into the Chapel Royal word-book.

[25] The names in brackets have been taken from other sources, of course.

was certainly connected with King's College in the early 18th century, for on p. 38 we find, 'Tuck, Chorister Kings Coll' and on p. 138 (more explicitly) 'Edward Tuck Chorister of Kings Colledge 1729'. There are reasons for believing that Henry Loosemore may have been the writer; he was a lay clerk of King's for some time before 1627, and from 1627 until his death in 1670 he was organist there. Most of the music in the first half of the book (to p. 142) is by Chapel Royal musicians; the second half, however, is full of anthems by Cambridgeshire musicians, especially Amner, organist of Ely from 1610 to 1641, and Henry Loosemore himself. There are ten anthems by Amner and no fewer than sixteen by Loosemore, of which seven are unique to this source. All the composers are described as 'Mr' or 'Dr.'; all, that is, but Henry Loosemore, whose name lacks any prefix. Indeed, on pp. 207 (Why art thou so heavy), 244 (Tell the daughters of Zion) and 245 (Let all the world), only the composer's initials are given, a feature which leads us to suspect that Loosemore may well have compiled the book. There are few chronological indications. 'O hear my prayer Lord' (p. 147) is attributed to 'Dr' Giles, showing therefore that this piece at least was added after 1622. Amner's 'Christ rising again' (p. 242) is dated 1636 in Tudway's score book, (British Museum, Ms. Harley 7337), but Tudway's authority for this date is not known. Apart from anthems (some eighty in all), there are two most unusual and interesting items: 'A Verse for the Organ, a Sagbot & Cornute' by Coperario and 'A Verse for ye Organ, A sagbut, Cornute & Violin' by Henry Loosemore, who was evidently determined to be one up on his Italianate contemporary!

Peterhouse, Cambridge; the 'Caroline' part-books

The two sets of 'Caroline' part-books at Peterhouse together form the most valuable liturgical source of the period. Full details are to be found in Dom Anselm Hughes' *Catalogue of the Musical Manuscripts at Peterhouse* (Cambridge, 1952). As Dom Anselm points out in his preface to the catalogue, the two sets have been put together from single leaves and small gatherings of paper. The music is in many different hands. No doubt the Master of Peterhouse, John Cosin [27], was largely responsible for assembling these very important books. Neither set contains much chronological evidence; the first set may be two or three years earlier than the second, for it contains comparatively little music by Thomas Wilson, organist of the college from 1635 (?) until the Civil War. Both must have been sub-

[26] I am indebted to Thurston Dart for drawing my attention to this book and for supplying me with the following details: see Thurston Dart's account in *The Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society,* Vol. 3, pt. 2 (1960).

[27] See Durham, below.

stantially complete however by 1635 for the Fellows spent no less than £ 40 on 'Libri Chorales' in that year. That the music was sung by men alone, as Dom Anselm suggests, is improbable; if this were so, John Mundy's services in three and four parts would hardly have been headed 'for men'. Indeed, most of the music in the Peterhouse books is well beyond the range of a male-voice choir, and to perform Byrd's Great Service with only altos, tenors and basses would be unthinkable.

Pembroke College, Cambridge

It is now well over a century since the first of the 'Caroline' part-books at Peterhouse were found behind panelling in the college library. The circumstances which led to the discovery of the Pembroke books were quite unremarkable by comparison; indeed, the books were first noticed on the shelves of the college library neatly stacked away in a section devoted to 'elephants'. There was nothing to tell when they had been deposited there; they are not listed in the Pembroke catalogue of manuscripts published in 1905, and there seemed at first sight to be nothing in the books that would be of help in determining their date or provenance. After working on them for some time, however, I came across a very minute and untidy inscription on the fly-leaf of the bass decani book which read: 'Henricus May his guift amen so be it'. This, very happily, has provided the clue to the history of the books, and to more besides.

Henry May, the son of Sir Humphrey May of Bury, Suffolk, matriculated as a fellow-commoner of Pembroke in 1637, when only fourteen years old. The Mays lived in an unusually musical corner of England and Henry must have had ample opportunity to develop a love of music during his early childhood. John Wilbye spent much of his life at Hengrave Hall, not five miles from Bury, in the service of the Kytsons. George Kirby was a resident musician for many years at Rushbrooke Hall, the home of Sir Robert Jermyn; from 1626 until his death in 1634 he lived in Bury itself. At nearby Hawkedon lived the Hamonds who were clearly no less musical than their illustrious neighbours [28].

Nothing is known of Henry May's early education. In 1637, however he found himself at Pembroke College, and one of the youngest members of a staunchly royalist and High Church society. Benjamin Laney was then its Master, having been a Fellow since 1616 under Dr. Jerome Beale, a noted High Churchman. Laney was Master of Pembroke until 1644 when, with many other members of the University, he was ejected 'for offending the

[28] See C. M. Crum, '... Music belonging to Thomas Hamond', *Bodleian Library Record,* VI, No. 1 (October 1957).

privileges of [a Puritan] parliament, and other scandalous acts'. One of his 'scandalous acts' we may assume, had been to beautify the college chapel and its services; this he had done shortly after his election as Master in 1630. Richard Crashaw, who became a Fellow of Pembroke in 1634, commented enthusiastically on the Master's reforms, making special mention of them in the dedicatory preface to his *Epigrammata Sacra* of 1634:

> But in the meanwhile pardon my muse, to such a degree unrestrained as to have dared for this part at least of your praises, which is most due to you on account of the sacred things that have been honoured amongst us...

Part of the poem which follows is also of interest here:

> Religion too with modest grace
> Through thee assumes a gentler mein;
> Through thee again can show her face,
> No more in dust and ashes seen.
> ....
> ....
> And, glowing with his duty's worth,
> Each starry-tressed chorister
> With look that savours not of earth
> Tends like a rosy cherub there[29].

Unfortunately we cannot tell whether the 'starry-tressed' choristers were a figment of Crashaw's imagination or whether they did in fact eixist. At this time the college accounts were kept in no great detail; a choir may well have taken part in the chapel services, if only on festal occasions, though no reference can be found to it in the records. Indeed, it may at first have done little more than lead the congregation in singing the metrical psalms. Possibly the Master and Fellows had been impressed by the elaborate choral services that had been started in the Peterhouse Chapel by the new Master, John Cosin. They may even have been encouraged to follow Cosin's example by Crashaw himself, who had resigned his Pembroke Fellowship for one at Peterhouse in 1635. Evidently Henry May had offered to provide a set of books for the choir — a generous gift which he may well have made on his election to a Fellowship in 1642.

But the books have hardly been used; even now they are in excellent condition, being quite free from greasy thumb-marks and dog-eared corners. The arrival of parliamentary forces in Cambridge in 1643 under William Dowsing would almost certainly account for this. We are told that

[29] *The Complete Works of Richard Crashaw*, ed. A. B. Grosart (1873).

> ... multitudes of Common Soldiers ... made the College meere Spittles and Bawdy-houses ... Fourscore were turned loose into one of the least Halls in the University (Marginal note: Pembr. Hall) and charged by their officers to shift for themselves, who without any more ado broke open the Fellows and Scholars Chambers, and took their beds from under them.

The music books must have been carefully hidden away during this disasterous episode and indeed during the long years that followed. At the Restoration they were brought into use again and a new anthem, Mr. Child's 'O Lord grant the king a long life' was added in a rather untidy round hand, probably for performance during the Cambridge coronation festivities.

Not long afterwards the books must finally have been consigned to the shelves, although there are plenty of blank pages in all of them. An explanation for this neglect is not hard to find, for in 1663 (the year in which Child became Dr. Child) the college began extensive rebuilding operations. The old chapel was converted into a library and a new one was built to the designs of the brilliant young Oxford astronomer, Christopher Wren. Wren's chapel was consecrated in 1665. If the choir was ever reformed, it must have been provided with more up-to-date music, for the old books do not seem to have been used again. How or when they were placed in the library remains a mystery.

There were eight books in the set: medius, contratenor, tenor and bassus, for both sides of the choir (cantoris and decani). Unfortunately the medius and contratenor cantoris books are missing, together with the organ books. The writing, apart from the one anthem mentioned above, is unusually neat and would seem to be the work of a professional copyist. It resembles in many ways the writing in the St. John's bass books. The contents are carefully arranged in three main sections: 1. Services, preces and festal psalms; 2. full anthems; and 3. verse anthems.

Three points call for particular comment. By a stroke of ill fortune the Pembroke version of Byrd's Great Service lacks the very part (contratenor cantoris) that Fellowes was obliged to reconstruct in his edition. The festal psalms for 'Obitt Sonday' (Founder's Day, presumably) are festal settings by 'Farrant' of psalms 21,146 and 147. No other sources of these settings are known and they may possibly have been written especially for the college. If this is so, the Farrant in question must have been John, described in the 'Batten' organ book as organist of Christ Church, Newgate. At the end is Tomkins' twelve-part anthem 'O praise the Lord', which may also have been intended for such an occasion as Founder's Day; this was an ambitious choice, for there could hardly have been more than sixteen singers in the choir, as there were only eight music books: were the singers

uncommonly good, or were the standards of performance uncommonly bad?

Brief Summary of Contents:

1. Services, preces and festal psalms:

Tallis	T.B.C.Cr.M.N.	(Barnard)	'Dorian'
Gibbons	T.B.C.Cr.M.N.	(Barnard)	'Short'
Child	Be.J.C.Cr.M.N.		'In G'
Child	T.J.C.Cr.M.N.		'Sharp, in D'
Child	Preces and Psalm		
Mundy W.	T.B.	(Barnard)	
Farrant	C.Cr.		
Tomkins	M.N.		'In C'
Morley	T.B.C.Cr.M.N.	(Barnard)	'Verse in d'
Johnson	T.B.Cr.M.N.		
Byrd	M.N.	(Barnard)	'For a meane alone'
Child	M.N.		'Flat'
Giles	T.J.Cr.M.N.		'To the organ'
Farrant	T.B.C.Cr.M.N.		'Third in G'
Byrd	T.B.C.Cr.M.N.		'Long'
Child	V		'In G'
Tomkins	V		'In C'
Gibbons	First Preces and Psalms (Barnard)		
	Second Preces		
Tomkins	Psalm		
Farrant	Psalms for 'Obitt Sonday'		
Hooper	M.N.		'Verse in d'
Morley	M.N.	(Barnard)	'Full in G'
Tallis	Preces and Responses (Barnard)		

2. Full anthems:

Tallis	I call and cry (Bd.)
Wundy W.	O Lord I bow the knees (Bd.)
Byrd	Arise O Lord
Byrd	O Lord make thy servant (Bd.)
Byrd	Sing joyfully (Bd.)
Byrd	Save me O God
Hooper	Behold it is Christ (Bd.)
Child	Sing we merrily
Child	Gloria in excelsis

3. Verse anthems:

Tomkins	Above the stars
Tomkins	O pray for the peace
Tomkins	Thou art my king
Giles	Out of the deep
Gibbons	Glorious and powerful God
Byrd	Christ rising (Bd.)

Gibbons	Behold thou hast made (Bd.)
Tomkins	Blessed be the Lord God
Gibbons	Behold I bring you
Parsons	'in time of sickness' (the opening verse is missing)
Bull	The 'Star' anthem
Giles	Everlasting God
Giles	God which as upon this day
Child	Turn thou us
Child	Almighty God (for All Saints)
Child	I will magnify thee
Child	O give the king
Child	O Lord grant the king (in a later hand)
Tomkins	O praise the Lord - 12-parts.

Gloucester Cathedral: the pre-Restoration bass book

Only one of the books in the cathedral library dates from pre-Restoration times. It was undoubtedly used by the Gloucester choir, for inside the front cover are to be found the names of four of the singingmen and 'this be the quiristers of decani side 1641'. The book was probably completed not long before this date, as it shows very little sign of wear. It is in one very neat diamond hand. Two later additions in a round hand suggest that it may have been brought into use again after the Restoration.

York Minster Library

There are two interesting part-books in this valuable library. The earlier of the two is Ms.M.18.S, a medius decani book of services dating from about 1618. There are six complete services, and the Venite and Te Deum of 'Mr. Birds new sute of service for Meanes'. The first three services (two by Robert Parsons and one by 'Mr.' Mundy) are dated Aug. 9, 1618.

The bass book, Ms.M.29.S dates from 1640 or thereabouts. It contains 113 anthems by early 17th century musicians, including Edward Smith of Durham and John Hutchinson, who left Southwell to become organist of York Minster in 1633. Ninety-two of these anthems are to be found in the Durham tenor books at the British Museum (Add. Mss 30478-9, 1664; but see below, p. 30 ff.). M.29.S may well have been the source of much of the music in the later Durham books, and if this is so it was probably one of a set which were in use at Durham shortly before the Civil War. Rutter's 'Blessed is the man' and Reade's 'God standeth in the congregation' are only to be found in M.29.S and Add. Mss. 30478-9. Moreover, Bath's 'Hear my prayer' is attributed to Cranford in M.29.S and Durham C.16, further proof of the links between the Durham and York books.

St. George's Chapel, Windsor

Only three books have been found of a set which was in use at St. George's before the Civil War. Their covers bear the date 1640, but they were still in use and presumably complete at the beginning of the 18th century when a funeral anthem by Croft was added. They contain music for the funeral service and also anthems for 'The King's Inauguration' and 'November 5'. In view of their size — they are very slim volumes and measure only 7½ inches by 5¾ inches — they would seem to have been used by the choir at St. George's for services and ceremonies outside the Chapel when normal part-books would have proved inconveniently cumbersome.

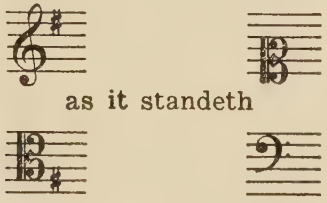
Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford

Five choirbooks, all that are left of a set of ten or more, are now deposited in the library at Christ Church as Mss. 1220-1224. The earliest parts of the books are in a bold diamond hand and probably date from pre-Commonwealth times. Nevertheless the possibility of post-Restoration origin cannot entirely be discounted, for there are an unusually large number of services and anthems by 'Mr.' William Child. No music by Child's Restoration contemporaries is to be found in the early diamond hand, however. The contents were originally divided into three sections, like the Pembroke books, but the blank leaves which separated these groups now contain services and anthems in a number of later round hands, the earliest of which is the autograph of Edward Lowe, organist of the cathedral from 1630 unto 1682. Music seems to have been added fairly steadily until at least 1700. The set was no doubt discarded after the treble books had been thumbed to pieces by the boys (no treble books are now extant).

There are two pre-Restoration organ books in the library. One, Ms. 6, is comparatively unimportant. It has fifty-eight folios of services and anthems in very short two-and three-part score. On f. 19 the writer has put, after one of Lugg's anthems, 'Mr. John Lugge. Org. of St. Peters in Exeter'. The other organ book probably dates from 1640 although none of the music in it can have been composed after 1634, the date of Giles' death [30]. The covers are stamped with the initials R.P., standing possibly for Robert Parsons (11) or Robert Pickhaver. Parsons was a singing-man at Exeter in 1634. Pickhaver followed William Meredith as organist of New College, possibly as early as 1637; he was certainly there for a time after the Restoration before taking up a similar post at Winchester College

[30] Tomkins' 'Thou art my king' must have been composed before 1617, as it is in the Southwell tenor book.

(1664). The front section of the book contains services (ff. 1-45), and anthems are at the back, reversed (ff. 85-45v); there are no blank leaves. The music is written on the usual six-line stave and is barred at irregular intervals, as in the 'Batten' organ book. The two clefs which the copyist has most frequently used are the G clef (second line upwards) and C clef (fourth line). Since these clefs cover a compass which is a fourth or a fifth above the normal early 17th century church pitch (the lowest note being 'C' or 'D') the organist must have transposed the music, a supposition borne out by the occasional instruction 'as it standeth' before pieces with C clefs. See, for instance, the score of Morley's Te Deum 'for verses', f. 31v., where the clefs change during the course of the piece; the second pair of clefs carry no signature: [31]



Evidently the high clefs or 'chiavette' were used here to avoid playing in a two-sharp key signature, which even in 1640 must still have been rather strange.

Durham Cathedral

And finally in this pre-Restoration group comes the very extensive collection of music in the Chapter Library at Durham Cathedral. Apart from the Peterhouse collection at Cambridge, this is the most important of the surviving liturgical sources and I make no apology, therefore, for dwelling at some length upon it. There are in all some thirty 17th century part-books in the library, shelf-marks A.1-6, C.1-19 and E.4-12 and these fall into seven, or possibly eight groups. Unfortunately not one of these groups is complete in itself, yet each at one time must have formed part of a separate set of books. All the books were rebound at least once while they were actually in use and their contents seem to have been altered consider-

[31] Similar directions are to be found in the 'Batten' organ book, *passim*. Michael Praetorius, in his *Syntagma musicum*, advises that all music with a bass written in a tenor or baritone clef should be transposed downwards when played on a keyboard instrument; the interval should be a fourth when there is a flat in the key signature, and a fifth when there is not. See A. Mendel, 'Pitch in the 16th and Early 17th Centuries' in *Musical Quarterly* XXIV (1948), 28, 199, 336, 575.

ably in the process, much of the old repertory being discarded in favour of more up-to-date services and anthems.

Group 1	Mss. E. 4-11.	c. 1624
Group 2	Ms. C. 8.	c. 1624
Group 3	Ms. C. 1, with fragments in Mss. C. 10 (pp. 101-103) and C. 15 (pp. 1-79).	c. 1624
Group 4	Mss. C. 4, C. 5, C. 6 (pp. 3-96), C. 7 (pp. 215-314 and fragments from pp. 315-49) C. 9, C. 10.	c. 1635
Group 5	Ms. C. 18.	c. 1635
Group 6	Mss. C. 2, C. 3 (pp. 1-66) C. 7, C. 11 (recto pp. 1-83, verso pp. 1-156) C. 13 (recto pp. 1-30, verso pp. 1-106), C. 14 (pp. 3, 5-7, 9-14, 17-39, 43-49, 51-68, 73-84, 88-108, 113-29, 133-157) C. 16 recto, (pp. 1-97, 101-239, 244-359).	c. 1660
Group 7	Mss. C. 11 (recto pp. 85-152, verso pp. 156-233) C. 12 (recto pp. 1-69, verso pp. 15-44, 67-238, 248-263) C. 13 (recto pp. 1-18, verso pp. 1-14 and 106-174), C. 14 (pp. 159-172), C. 15 (pp. 79-98 and 145-153), C. 16 (pp. 97-100 and 240-244), C. 19.	c. 1670
Group 8	Ms. C. 17 (possibly belonging to Group 7).	c. 1670

The following books contain later additions in a number of round hands, the most important of which is that of John Milner, Precentor of Durham from 1697-1705; all the additions seem to have been made between 1690 or thereabouts and 1720:

Mss. C.2* (the entire book), C.3 (pp. 66 ff), C.6 (pp. 1-2), C.7 (pp. 138-214 and 349 to the end, 414), C.8 (pp. 424-510), C.12 (pp. 69-88, verso pp. 1-15, 45-67 and 265-73), C.14 (pp. 173-247, verso pp. 1-6), C.15 (pp. 99-144, and 154-220). There are also a few later additions, notably Ms. C.8 (pp. 516 to the end, 550).

It is not easy to date these eight groups of books. Occasionally a copyist scribbled a date at the foot of a page, but there are all too few of these helpful guides. Happily, however, the cathedral copyists seem to have taken good care to give composers their correct titles and much of the evidence for dating can, I think, be drawn from the changes which occur in these titles. Five composers took doctorates either in Music or Divinity: Nathaniel Giles (1622), William Child (1663), Blow (1679), Aldrich (1682), and Turner (1696). The earliest of the books — that is to say, those in the first three groups — were probably started therefore in about 1622; the limits cannot be defined too closely, for the news of Giles' doctorate may have taken some time to reach Durham.

The history of the cathedral itself at this time may help to throw some light on these early books. In 1620 Richard Hunt was elected Dean. His predecessor had been Sir Adam Newton, a layman of Scottish birth and a tutor to Prince Henry. There is nothing to show that Newton ever concerned himself greatly about the cathedral and he certainly did not reside in Durham for any great length of time during his fifteen years tenure of office. Richard Hunt was a very different man, a devout Anglican who believed in the value of a well-conducted and beautiful liturgy. His bishop was Richard Neil, formerly Dean of the most musical church in the country, Westminster Abbey. Neile was a patron both of John Cosin and William Laud; indeed, Cosin was his secretary at Durham until 1624 when he was given a prebendal stall, no doubt on the recommendation of Neile himself. Cosin clearly had great force of character for he was able in a very short space of time to persuade a majority of his fellow prebendaries to expend considerable sums of money in beautifying the cathedral [32].

> and forasmuch as the Said Deane and Chapter have lately also expended such large summes of money for the reparation of their Church-fabrick, and for the ornaments, utensills, and beautie of the same, together with so many augmentations which they have newly granted, out of their common purse, for the better life, maintenance, and encouragment, of them that daily performe their due service in the Quire . . . [33] [July 20, 1628]

Largely at Cosin's instigation, it would seem, the cathedral services were remodelled on the pattern of those at the Chapel Royal. This aroused violent opposition from the more puritanical members of the Chapter, in particular from Peter Smart who entered into legal procedings against the High Church faction. A lengthy account of all this is to be found in the *Surtees Society* volume quoted above, together with a very long, embittered and tautologous 'objection' against his fellows, which Smart published in 1628. Significantly enough, Smart particularly disliked the very elaborate music which had been introduced into the services: anthems were sung before and after sermon, for instance, in place of congregational psalms; here is a passage from the earlier pages of Smart's indictment:

> [I condemn] your popish baits and allurments of glorious pictures, and Babalonish vesturs, and excessive number of wax-candles burning at one tyme, and especially the horrible profanation of both the sacraments with all manner of musick both instrumentall and vocall, so lowde that the Ministers can not bee heard . . . [34].

[32] So, at least, Peter Smart argued; see below.

[33] 'The Correspondence of John Cosin', 1, p. 143, *Surtees Society*, Vol. 55, (1855).

[34] *Surtees Society*, op. cit., p. 165.

No doubt, some of the music that Smart objected to was sung from copies which are still in the cathedral library and which may have been especially drawn up by Cosin and his associates [35].

The set of eight books, shelf-mark E.4 to 11, would seem to fit these circumstances particularly well. The books are unusually large, measuring very nearly 12 inches by 20 inches — nearly twice the normal size, that is — and are written in a proportionately large and very beautiful diamond hand. Spaces have even been left for ornamental capitals, but these have not been filled in. The books contain Services, Preces, Responses and Festal Psalms; there are four complete services for Matins, 'High' service and Evensong, and three evening services, one by Morley ('for verses') and two by Batten (his third and fourth). The Batten services are the most up-to-date in the set. There are also Preces, Responses and Festal Psalms by William Smith, Edward Smith, Byrd and Gibbons.

Group 2. This is the only surviving book from a set of folio service-books which again must have been written out in 1624 or thereabouts. Notes and words are as large as those in the set 'E' books and there are spaces at the head of each piece for decorated capitals; the Services, Preces, Responses and Festal Psalms in C.8, however, are completely different. Both groups of books were in use after the Restoration; the indices in E.4-11 are dated 1675, and C.8 contains music in the hand of John Milner, c. 1690.

Group 3. This group comprises a set of anthem books dating, as before, from the time Giles took his doctorate [36]. Ms. C.1, a treble part-book, is now the most complete one of the set. Yet many of its pages must be missing, for C.1 p. 1 is p. 42 of the C.15 fragment. It seems as though this set formed the basis for the first post-Restoration set of anthem books, as pp. 131-217 of Ms. C.1 are to be found almost complete and in sequence in Ms.E.11a (see Group 6, below).

Group 4. This is the first of the sets in a round hand. It consists of anthems and was probably started in about 1635. All the surviving books are very fragmentary, but there can be no doubt that they originally formed part of a separate set of anthem books. Of the six, Ms. C.4 is now the most complete:

[35] No mention can be found of these books in the cathedral accounts which unfortunately are very incomplete between 1617 and 1632. Cosin must have had a hand in compiling the Peterhouse books, too, for these contain a very great deal of music by Durham musicians.

[36] Ms. C.1, p. 8 'O how happy' by 'Mr. Giles'; p. 13 ff. Giles is referred to as 'Dr.'.

First page in the 1635 hand	=	Page Number in Ms. C. 4
C. 5: p. 1		p. 7 (Ms. C. 5 contains three extra anthems at the end which are no longer in Ms. C. 4)
C. 6: p. 3		p. 3
C. 7: p. 215		p. 5
C. 9: p. 9		p. 1
C. 10: p. 1		p. 9

Ms. C.10 contains twenty-one extra anthems in two slightly later round hands and the text of 'The first psa. apointed for the fast the 8th of July 1640'. Most of the music in the set dates from the late 16th and very early 17th centuries; in view of the fact that there is none by William Child, a prolific composer whose work was already well-known before the outbreak of the Civil War, we may assume that the group four books were substantially complete by 1640.

Group 5. Only one book now remains of a set of Services, Preces, Responses, and Festal Psalms which formed the complement to the group four anthem books. The hand is identical in both sets.

Group 6. This is undoubtedly the most difficult set to date. It is written in a firm diamond hand which resembles very closely the style of print that Barnard used for his *First Book of Selected Church Musick* in 1641. Where Barnard obtained his type we do not know. Perhaps he had it designed especially for the purpose — he was after all expecting to publish at least two, and possibly three or more sets of services and anthems. If this were so, we may well wonder whether the type designer and the writer of the group six books may not have been one and the same person; interestingly enough, pages from the tenor decani part of Barnard's *First Book* have been inserted in one of the two Durham books of this set which are in the British Museum (Add. Mss. 30478-9). But no doubt the simplest explanation is the most likely one, that the writer chose to model his hand on the elegant pattern of the Barnard print. In this case the books were probably compiled shortly after the Restoration. The elaborate title page of Add. Ms. 30478 is dated 1664, which is apparently the date of completion, since William Child is simply 'Mr' William Child until halfway through the book. It is just possible, nevertheless, that the copyist began his task shortly before services were interrupted at Durham by the parliamentary 'Directory for the Publike Worship of God' (1644); the choice of music is very conservative — the most advanced composer is William Child and every one of his services and anthems in this collection is to be found elsewhere in pre-Restoration sources.

Groups 7 and 8. Strictly speaking, these groups should not be discussed here for they clearly date from the second half of the 17th century. They are written in a neat diamond hand, very similar in style to that of

the indices which are to be found in a number of the 'C' books and which are dated variously from 1671 to 1675. It seems then that a Durham copyist using a diamond style of notation must have continued to add music to the Durham repertory until 1675 or thereabouts. It seems also as if he tried to patch up some of the earlier books which had been in use before the Civil War; Ms. C.2 (p. 7 ff.), for instance, contains much of the music which is in C.1 (pp. 89-130).

Finally there are six organ books, shelf marks A.1-6. All but one of the books (Ms. A.4) date from the 1630s; I have been unable to assign any of these to a particular set or sets of part-books, but there is still much to be done here.

Secular Sources:

Anthem singing seems to have been quite a popular domestic pastime during the early years of the 17th century, for anthems are to be found in some two-dozen sets of 'private' or secular part-books, as well as in about a dozen printed sets of madrigals and songs. None of the following books contain settings of the Canticles, Preces, Responses, or Festal Psalms.

1. Pre-Restoration Printed Books

'Psalmes, Sonets and songs'	1588	Byrd
'Songs of sundrie natures'	1589	Byrd
'Songs and Psalmes'	1594	John Mundy
'An Howres Recreation'	1606	Alison
'The Third set of Bookes'	1610	East
'Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets'	1611	Byrd
'Sacred Hymns'	1615	Amner
'The fourth set of bookes'	1618	East
'Songs of 3, 4, 5 and 6 Parts'	1622	Tomkins
'The Sixt set of Bookes'	1624	East
'The Second set of Madrigals'	1624	Pilkington
'Mottects or Grave Chamber Musique'	1630	Peerson
'Madrigales and Ayres'	1632	Porter

2. Pre-Restoration Manuscripts

London, British Museum:

Add. Mss. 15117	A book of lute music and solo songs which belonged to Hugh Floyd in 1630.
15166	Paper after 1567; 18 anthems.
17786-91	Early 17th c. Mainly instrumental music with madrigals and three anthems. †
17797	Early 17th c. A set of five books bound under one cover. It may have been compiled in Oxford, possibly by Richard Nicholson. It contains madrigals, a motet and six anthems.*

17792-6	Probably after 1624. The covers are initialled 'I.M.' The books contain much instrumental music, madrigals, motets, over forty anthems and two services *† [no other secular source contains settings of the canticles].
18936-9	Early 17th c. It may have been used in a Catholic household, for it contains over forty motets, seventy mass movements, and also madrigals, instrumental pieces and nine anthems.
29366-8	Early 17th c. Formerly owned by John Browne, who was possibly the publisher of the second Alphonso Ferrabosco's music. The set contains a few motets, madrigals and instrumental pieces, and some twenty-six anthems. *†
29372-7	1616. Compiled by Thomas Myriell. It is a very important collection of motets, madrigals and some ninety anthems. *
29427	c. 1616. An altus part-book of forty anthems (the majority of which are to be found in 29372-7) a few motets, numerous madrigals and instrumental pieces. †
34800	c. 1640. A set of part books bound under one cover which belonged to William King, who became a Fellow of All Souls in 1634. A general anthology of secular pieces with one or two sacred madrigals and motets.
Egerton 995	After 1604. A set of part-books under one cover containing much music from the English publications of Italian music. There are two anthems by Thomas Lupo. †

New York, Public Library:

Mss. Drexel 4180-5	c. 1625. A set of six part-books which Rimbault believed were once owned by John Evelyn. A very important set which contains Italian and Egnlish madrigals, a quantity of string music, motets and numerous anthems. *

Oxford, Bodleian Library:

Mss. Mus. sch. c. 212-6	Early 17th c. Mainly instrumental music. *
Mus. f. 11-28	c. 1630. Four sets of part-books, the second of which is incomplete, in the hand of Thomas Hamond of Suffolk [37]. The books contain all kinds of vocal and instrumental music, much of which was copied from printed sources. *
Mus. sch. c. 423	Late 16th c. A contratenor book of motets, sacred madrigals and anthems, mainly by Byrd. It may formerly have been owned by a Court musician (see p. 7, 'Robert Parsons of the Chappell').

Christ Church Libary:

Mss. 56-60	c. 1620. A miscellaneous collection, mainly by English composers of the late 16th and early 17th centuries.
61-66	c. 1620. A second set in the same hand as the above. It contains much secular music and a few anthems besides.
67	c. 1640? A book of sketchy keyboard scores of fantasias,

[37] For further information see C. M. Crum, 'A Seventeenth-century Collection of Music belonging to Thomas Hamond . . .', *Bodleian Library Record, VI,* No. 1 (October 1957).

Italian madrigals, motets and anthems.

750-3 c. 1620. The collection consists of motets, songs and a few anthem-like pieces by Italians and Italianate Englishmen.

984-8 Late 16th c. The books contain motets, chansons, madrigals, string music and a few anthems by late 16th c. English composers; they are the earliest known source of verse anthems. *

1074-7 c. 1620. The part-books contain madrigals and sacred songs in two, three and four parts, mainly by English musicians.

Tenbury, St. Michael's College Library:

Mss. 389 Early 17th c. It may have been owned by Thomas East, the music publisher. It is a discantus partbook of string music; it also contains a few anthems by English composers of the 16th c.

807-11 c. 1610. A set of motets and anthems, mainly by William Byrd. *

1162-7 Early 17th c. The books contain madrigals, an equal number of anthems and some motets. *

† = an incomplete set of books.
* = verse anthems with accompaniments for viols.

Finally, no study of 16th and early 17th century Anglican service music can be complete without reference to the following Restoration sources:

Restoration Manuscripts

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum:

Ms. 88 Purcell autograph: services and anthems in score: c. 1677.

Ms. 117 John Blow autograph: services and anthems in score: c. 1683.

Lichfield, The Cathedral Library:

John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick* interleaved with a great deal of pre- and post-Restoration service music in manuscript: c. 1665; Contratenor dec. 1., Contratenor can. 1 and 2., Tenor dec. and can., Bass dec. and can.

London, British Museum: Mss. Harley 7337-42

A set of six books in score in the hand of Thomas Tudway: 1715-1720.

Chapel Royal:

A set of part-books dating from c. 1665, now deposited in the British Museum. For full details see H. W. Shaw, 'A Contemporary source . . .' *Acta Musicologia* XXI, 1 (1959), p. 38.

St. Paul's Cathedral:

Set 1: alto and tenor dec. only: c. 1675; closely associated with the 'Gostling' books at York. Services only.

Set 2: tenor dec. and bass can. and dec.: c. 1690; also associated with the 'Gostling' books at York: these may be in the hand of the Revd. John Gostling.

Tenbury, St. Michael's College: Ms. 1176-82

Four part books, medius dec., alto, tenor and bass can., and three organ books: c. 1685.

Wimborne Minster:

Five part-books and an organ book, now in the Chain Library of the Minster: c. 1670. Two bass books, two tenor and one alto (no shelf marks).

Windsor, St. George's Chapel:

Six part-books: three c. 1660 containing much music by Child; three c. 1680 (no shelf marks).

York Minster:

A complete set of part books in at least two different hands: c. 1675; a very valuable source indeed known as the 'Gostling' part-books.

Cambridge, England.

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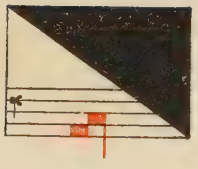

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